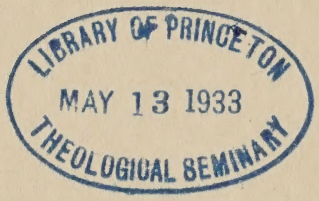
THE ADOLESCENT BOY

WINIFRED V. RICHMOND Ph.D.



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The adolescent boy

The Adolescent Boy

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THE ADOLESCENT BOY

A book for parents and teachers

by

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INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of G. Stanley Hall's monumental book on adolescence, which made available to English readers the accumulated knowledge of twenty-five years ago, there has been no dearth of workers and students in this field. Much that was then unheard of or just beginning to be known has been brought to light. Anthropology has contributed to our knowledge of adolescence among primitive peoples; the Juvenile Court and the Child Guidance clinics have uncovered for us the varieties of adolescent behavior; the study of individual differences, made possible by the techniques of mental and educational measurements, has disclosed the immense range of variation to be found in the adolescent group in any and every environment; while last, but by no means least, the psychology of Freud and Jung and Adler and their co-workers has laid bare the springs of human behavior, in adolescence no whit less than in adult life—even more, because the sources of adult adjustment or maladjustment invariably are seen to lie back of maturity, in adolescence, childhood, or infancy itself.

There have been many books, in the last ten years,

upon adolescence or various of its phases; magazine articles, symposiums, lectures and study outlines have flooded the country; but there still is need, it seems to me, for a book about the adolescent boy such as this proposes to be. I have tried to present a brief survey—not by any means comprehensive, but only glancing at important points—of the anthropological and historical background against which our modern youth must play his part. The physiology and psychology of puberty, ignorance of which on the part of both the boy and his parents is the cause of so many adolescent heartbreaks and actual tragedies, seem to me to need more of an airing than they are usually accorded in books and lectures on the subject.

Again, some of our most competent authors have shied away from the abnormal, feeling that only the normal or usual should be stressed, fearing the effect upon the boy's guardians of a knowledge of the various anomalies of adolescence. But the line between the normal and abnormal is exceedingly tenuous, and we have no more hope of understanding what may be normal without a knowledge of the abnormal in the field of behavior than in the field of medicine, where, as everyone knows, the study of disease has given us the key to the knowledge of health. And so I have dealt at some length with the various types of subnormality and abnormality that man-

ifest themselves during adolescence, and that make up a large part of the problems of both home and school.

Delinquency also is a pressing problem of adolescence, and one with which society itself is most deeply concerned, for crime is very largely an adolescent phenomenon. Not only does the criminal begin his career in adolescence or even earlier, but it is still true that the majority of delinquent and criminal acts are committed by youths. Surely we cannot know too much about these youthful offenders, or neglect to discover the motives and mechanisms that lie back of their behavior. Society will never be able to deal effectively with the problems of crime and delinquency until it learns to consider the human personality behind the anti-social act.

After we have considered what in adolescence is truly abnormal and in need of special treatment, medical, psychological, or educational, we are then in a position to take up the problems of the normal youth, and they are many and various, enough to call for all our sympathy and understanding if as parents and teachers, we are to furnish the help and guidance that the boy has a right to expect from us. To remember our own adolescent vagaries and be patient with him; to watch him brandishing firebrands and restrain ourselves from snatching them out of his hands; to see him as a mooncalf and keep a sober face and a soberer heart; to give

him enough rope so that family bonds will not chafe and worry him; tactfully to place the stepping stones for his advancement toward his social goals; and so to armor him with knowledge and ideals that he can come off victorious in his battles with sex and sloth and irresponsibility, to find his way at last to normal manhood—here is a task for which we can never be too well prepared. From the boys who have failed we learn of pitfalls to be avoided; from those who have fallen we gather what strength of soul and body is necessary to win the race; from those who, though crippled, have yet carried on, we learn how invincible, after all, is the human spirit.

And so, though a good third of the following pages may seem to be concerned with what is undesirable or abnormal in youth, it is because it is necessary to clarify our ideas of what is desirable and normal; and it is with the normal boy, "his conflicts and escapes," his school and social problems, his problem of vocational choices, of how to occupy his leisure and get the most out of his recreations, of how best to fit himself for a future at which the wisest of us can only guess, that the writer is always most concerned.

As in THE ADOLESCENT GIRL, the cases cited, unless otherwise credited, have come under my personal observation. Fifteen years of teaching, twelve of them at least with adolescents, and fifteen years of clinical and psychiatric

work in which the adolescent of both sexes has always loomed large, are my excuse for my interest in the subject, as well as for my hope that I have learned something that may be of value to those who deal in home or school with adolescent boys; and so, for what it is, I pass it on.

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No attempt has been made to cite references to all the sources used in the preparation of this book. Many of them are highly technical medical and psychological treatises, and the majority are contained in professional monographs and magazines. The references following each chapter are to works readily accessible and likely to be of value to one who wishes to read further on the subject.

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The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, pub. by Geo. Banta, Menasha, Wis.

Hygeia, pub. by American Medical Association, 535 N. Dearborn St., Chicago.

The Survey, pub. by Survey Associates, Inc., 112 E. 19th St., N. Y.

Mental Hygiene, pub. by National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Ave., N. Y.

The Adolescent Boy

The Adolescent Boy

Chapter I

The Adolescent Boy in Earlier Times

Among the primitives—Puberty ceremonies and initiation into manhood—The "ordeals"—Instruction in tribal lore and customs—Sex instruction and the attitude of the primitive toward sex—The adolescent in Ancient Greece—Attitude toward sex and marriage—The Roman boy—The young knight of the Middle Ages—The young religionist—The children of the poor—Apprenticeship—Principles common to education in all times—The task of education in the Twentieth Century.

Of the far beginnings of human society we can, of course, know nothing definitely; we can only guess at earlier times from customs still extant or from the few fragments that ancient monuments and records afford us; and these sources, together with the primitive cultures still in existence in various parts of the world, seem to point rather definitely to the recognition of puberty as both a physical and a psychological crisis by early man. At this period childhood ceased, the boy put aside childish things, and, usually to the accompaniment of intricate

ceremonies and often of tortures and severe ordeals, became a man, with rights, duties, and prerogatives which he could not have unless he had undergone the formal initiation into manhood. Travelers and anthropologists tell us of grown men among the savages who have no social status and are despised as "children" because, for one reason or another, they have never undergone the puberty ceremonies.

In general the savage child is a person of small importance, especially in those parts of the world where conditions of life are hard and children are a burden and hindrance. Infanticide was almost universal in the ancient world, even into historical times, and though it was most often the girl who was disposed of, boys also were often not wanted. Weaklings or those deformed were seldom allowed to live, and this is still true among our more primitive races. Among many savages the child is a nonentity until he receives a name, and he is even called throughout childhood by words signifying "little," "mean," "despised thing." He may be abused, neglected, thrust out in the bush to fend for himself as best he can, or inured at an early age to a form of child labor that snuffs out the lives of all but the hardiest. As existence becomes less hard and cultural conditions advance, the child becomes more of an asset, since he will work for his parents, care for them in their old age,

and pay proper respect to their spirits after they are dead. There is still little regard for him in his own person, or recognition of his childish needs and desires; it is only in relation to his future status as "a man and a citizen," as we would say, that he becomes of importance.

The puberty ceremonies do not everywhere coincide with physiological maturity. Whatever their origin, they soon acquired a social significance, and were sometimes carried out in series, beginning when the child was very young, or might be held final while he was still only a little boy. When this happens, their meaning has to be explained to him when he arrives at an age to understand it. In the majority of cases, however, the approach of puberty, heralded either by physical signs or by age (though savages do not reckon age as we do), is the time set apart for initiation into the mysteries of adulthood. Not only must the boy now learn the rights and duties of manhood, but the child in him must die, the ties of his early life must be severed, and he must enter upon his new estate like one new born. To accomplish this, we find many devices worked out by various peoples.

Among some tribes, notably in North America,[1] intoxicants were given, so that the boys became "raving" and,

[1] G. Stanley Hall, ADOLESCENCE, Vol. II, p. 238.

we may presume, completely forgetful for the time being of what had gone before; in East Africa, among the Nandi, both the boys and girls had their heads shaved and were given purges, which cleansed them of all the contaminations of the old life;[2] in the Kawai Islands the boy is stolen from the family and kept away for a long period, and cannot return until they purchase him back, because he has been reborn and is a new individual.[3] In other places a huge monster is constructed, hidden away in the jungle where the ceremonies are to take place; the men, by means of "bull-roarers," instruments which make frightful noises, lead the women and children to believe that the monster is making them. The mothers take tearful farewell of their sons, who are "swallowed" by the monster, and afterward disgorged, given back from the dead. Among some savages a new language must be learned, and things cannot even be spoken of by their old names. The boy is tattooed, mutilated in various ways, a tooth or teeth knocked out, his nose or ears pierced, so that wherever he goes he may bear with him the badge of his maturity and social status. Among the Omaha Indians the boy was isolated in a lonely place without food, where he kept vigil for four

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[2] A. C. Hollis, THE NANDI, quoted by Miller, p. 190.

[3] Wilfred Beaver, UNEXPLORED NEW GUINEA, quoted in Miller, p. 191. See references at end of chapter.

days and nights, singing the tribal prayer, "Here, ready he stands, and I am he," weeping meanwhile, until he fell into a trance and had a vision to show him what his life was to be.

The ordeals which many tribes imposed upon the initiates were so severe that they lost consciousness; in other cases they seemed to faint from fright, or to go through a hysterical crisis in which they were temporarily blind or helpless. The puberty ordeals were explicitly designed to show what stuff the boy was made of, and he who could not endure them was repudiated as a member of the tribe, so mocked and scorned that his life was worthless, driven out of the tribe, or even killed. He must walk on hot pebbles, or run naked through thorn bushes, submit to beatings with stinging nettles or rawhide whips, sleep naked in a cramped position in the bitter cold, spend days and nights of fear and hunger inside the terrible monster; after all this was over, when he was given new garments and a new name and publicly proclaimed a man amid the loud rejoicings of the whole tribe, he must inevitably have felt himself a new creature, forever cut off from all that had gone before.

In many if not in nearly all instances, the period of initiation was a time of instruction in tribal history and customs. The boys lived together in "boys' barracks" or huts and were taught by older men, or mummeries and

pageants enacted the tribal story for them. With all the means at his command, primitive man brought home to the adolescent boy the necessity for group solidarity. The ways of the elders, the customs of his people, fear and hatred of the hereditary enemies, the innumerable taboos and the awful consequences of breaking them, the manner of dealing with the spirits which formed his unseen environment—all these were impressed upon him so that he might become an integral part of the tribe, thinking and feeling with it, and defending it with his life. Thus the budding individuation of puberty was nipped as soon as it began to swell. There is no room in primitive society for the rebel or the innovator: the adolescent boy learns through the ordeals of his initiation that he must conform.

In the more highly developed cultures, the puberty ceremonies lose much of their fearful and cruel character, and become periods of feasting and celebration, when the whole community rejoices over the youth's entrance into manhood. Sometimes they are mingled with feasts of the gods, or with the festivities which celebrate the return of springtime. Among some of our American Indian tribes the ceremonies were on a high plane, elaborate and beautiful, and the pubertal experiences were of deep significance for the boy's whole future life. Such was the case among the Omahas referred to above.

The question of sex naturally looms large in the puberty ceremonies. It is necessary, however, to understand something of the savage attitude toward sex before we can see the meaning of some of them. For primitive man the line between himself and his surroundings is hard to draw; he feels himself a part of nature in an almost mystical sense, so that his acts influence natural processes, the growth of the crops, rain, the activities of wild animals, and in turn he is influenced by them; moreover, the unseen world by which he is surrounded is peopled by spirits, some good and some evil, and by the ghosts of his departed ancestors. At various points this unseen world thrusts itself into his affairs in a wholly mysterious manner: sickness, accident, death are not natural consequences but the result of the "magic" of his enemies or the revenge of an offended spirit. The fact of sex, that is, the different rôles played by men and women as sexual beings, is a mystery so complete that it must be explained by myths, safeguarded by taboos and magical ceremonies, and conducted in prescribed fashion and often with elaborate ritual. To primitive man the relation between sexual intercourse and pregnancy was unknown; there are still tribes with a rather highly developed culture who are ignorant of it. Women are impregnated by spirits who wish to be born, and the woman who wishes a child must repair to a "breeding place" which such spirits are known

to inhabit and there go through certain magical ceremonies which will invite a spirit to take up his abode in her. Among other tribes she eats the fruit or seeds of a certain tree. Woman is thus nearer to the unseen world than man; it is easier for her to have commerce with it; she is a more mysterious creature. Menstruation adds to her mystery; very commonly among primitives a menstruating woman is "taboo"; she must not even be seen by a man, who would sicken and die if she looked at him.

Among the Manus of New Guinea, studied by Margaret Mead,[4] menstruation is a secret "which no man in all Manus knows"; there is a first menstruation, during which the girl is secluded and after which there are great celebrations, but thenceforward until marriage, it is not supposed to occur. The sex act itself is nevertheless of great significance, and sex attraction a most mysterious thing. Spells, incantations, love potions and brews, "conjures" of various sorts, rituals and ceremonies, to say nothing of taboos, are connected with it. It is the greatest good in life, the highest pleasure, or it is an act of religious significance, hedged round with all sorts of ceremonies and restrictions. Nearly all races seem to have passed through a period which is known as "phallic wor-

[4] Margaret Mead, GROWING UP IN NEW GUINEA. See reference at end of chapter.

ship": that is, the principle of reproduction was worshiped as the fountain and source of life, and the religion of the people was built around it. This, however, must have been much later in the evolution of culture, when the act of sex as the source of human fertility had become known.

The early organization of society seems everywhere to have been "matrilineal": children were named for their mothers, and property descended in the female line. This would be natural where the relation between intercourse and pregnancy was not known; this is still true among many people of the South Sea Islands, though their form of social organization is not a "matriarchate," with women priests and rulers, as was apparently the case among many savage peoples in earlier days. Among the Manus, though the paternity of the children is recognized, they inherit through the mother, and it is not the father but the mother's brother who is their legal guardian. The fact of paternity and the man's responsibility for the birth of children is thus apparently a rather recent discovery; as long as it was unknown, the sex act could be invested with all manner of mysterious meanings.

In practically all cultural groups, however, a pregnancy occurring outside of marriage (for all primitives of whom we have any knowledge practice some form of marriage) was frowned upon, and illegitimate births are rare. This

can only mean that women early learned how to produce abortions, though this was a secret so carefully kept that it must have been ages before men found it out. They (the men) could go on using sex as a plaything, as a form of worship, or in any other way that appealed to them without fear of consequences.

However, sexual jealousy must have been operative from the beginning. We find it highly developed among the higher animals, and among the numerous taboos with which primitive man has surrounded himself none is stronger than the "incest taboo," or the one which forbids sexual intercourse or marriage within certain prescribed degrees of relationship. This relationship may be wholly artificial, as between members of the same "totem," or group claiming the same animal ancestor, the bear, the wolf, and so on, or between men who have vowed friendship after the manner of our fraternities and secret societies; or it may represent the ties of blood and marriage. In most states of our union cousins cannot marry, and in England until recently a man might not marry his deceased wife's sister. In the earliest societies the incest taboos probably represented the efforts of the adults to prevent the youths from having sex relations with those whom they wished to keep for themselves.

In many tribes we find an early separation of the sexes,

and in some cultures there is a taboo upon almost every form of social intercourse between men and women: a man may not be seen in public with his wife; he is forbidden to speak to a long list of women; he must not see their faces, and even their shadows must not fall upon him. The taboos begin to work very early, and often long before puberty the boy must withdraw from association with his sisters or his girl playmates, who in their turn will avoid him sedulously. This means an early separation of the boy from the family, for the girl usually remains with her mother.

In some cultures, as in northern Melanesia, studied by Malinowski,[5] the children form subgroups or small communities of their own and conduct their affairs in imitation of their elders but with little interference from them. These groups, however, carefully observe the brother-sister taboo. All of his female relations on his mother's side are taboo to the boy; and his avoidance of them becomes more and more pronounced, until at puberty he leaves the parental house and becomes an inmate of the "bachelor's house," where he remains until his marriage.

Among the Trobriand Islanders, as among many savages, there are no restrictions, outside of the incest taboo, upon sex relations before marriage. Little boys and girls

[5] THE SEXUAL LIFE OF SAVAGES. See reference at end of chapter.

play at sex relations, laughed at or winked at by their elders, so long as it is done "decently," that is, in the bush and not in the house. There are no initiation ceremonies among these people, but as the child grows older he takes more and more of an active part in the pursuits and occupations of the tribe, and by the end of puberty he is a full-fledged member, ready to marry and carry on as an adult. The "bachelor's house" is owned by some older boy or young widower, and is occupied by a small group of boys. Thither come the adolescent girls to whom the boys are not taboo, to select temporary mates and to occupy the bachelor's house with them for a shorter or longer period.

However, again there are regulations and taboos, and the hand of custom is heavy upon them. Though a boy and girl may be sleeping together every night, to be seen eating together would bring everlasting disgrace. The association of any one couple may be for only a night, or more or less permanent and leading to marriage. Among the Samoans there is a similar period of sexual freedom for the adolescents, though they do not have the bachelor's house. Marriage ends this, however, and adultery is severely censured.

Among the Manus the opposite custom prevails. These people are extremely prudish and inculcate in their children a great sense of shame connected with sex. So

strong is the fear of adult disapproval of childish sex activities that the Manus children, who for the most part have neither fear nor respect for their parents, do not indulge in the sex plays which seem almost universal among savage children. Adolescence for the Manus boy was formerly occupied largely by fighting and head-hunting, but now he goes away to other islands or the mainland to work for the white man, returning after a few years to marry the girl who has been betrothed to him for years but whom he has never seen.

Circumcision is an important rite which is carried out by many peoples at puberty, and there is much evidence that it was originally intended as a preparation for the sexual duties of manhood. Instruction in the technique of the sex act and in all the minutiæ of magical observances connected with it, as well as in the duties and privileges of marriage, are a part of the puberty ceremonies in many places. The strict secrecy with which they are often conducted, together with the reluctance of the initiated to discuss them, make it very difficult for us to know all that was a part of the puberty observances; but from what we do know, it is a safe guess that sex education, or we might say the final touches to it, formed for the savage an indispensable part of the boy's initiation into manhood.

In line with what we know of the savage mind, it is

more than likely that in the beginning puberty, with its mysterious physical manifestations and its more mysterious emotional states, was thought of as a "religious" state, a point at which the unseen forces that surround him intruded into the savage's personality, changing him physically and mentally, and calling for special measures to enable him to adjust without offense to his spiritual guardians. Nearly everywhere the puberty ceremonies have a marked religious significance. It was inevitable that in the course of time many other meanings should attach themselves, and the rites take on different aspects in different cultures; but the savage mind is practical enough, for all its whimsicalities, and the economic meaning is plain nearly everywhere. The boy must be made to feel the force of tradition; the authority of the elders must be impressed upon him; all want of conformity or leanings toward innovation must be stamped out. This is certainly part of the motive back of the severe ordeals which are imposed in so many cultures. When a boy has learned the law in accompaniment to beatings, so that he carries throughout life "a scar for every law" he is not likely to forget it, and when manhood is a mysterious social state which can be reached only through the portals of initiation, those who have reached it will see to it that others do not enter unaware.

To the savage boy, then, adolescence is the beginning

of manhood. He is at the zenith of his mental and physical powers, his world, circumscribed as it is, is open before him, his place in it is secure and often important. Soon he will marry, have children, and his bondage to his social order will be complete. He is mature, well versed in the lore and wisdom of his tribe, a responsible member of society, at an age when boys in our civilization are still but schoolboys.

When we seek the adolescent boy in classical antiquity we again find him attaining manhood early. In nearly every part of Greece, according to Grasberger,[6] the institution of the "ephebiate," or training of adolescence, was utilized to prepare the boy for entrance into the estate of manhood. In Athens there were formal ceremonies to mark the various steps in his progress, which might be compared to our graduation exercises from school and college. The Greek adolescent was trained in politics and the art of government, in literature, music, and gymnastics. At eighteen he became an "ephebos," donned a distinctive garment, the chlamys, was invested with the "ephebic arms," a shield and spear, took the civic oath, "I will never bring disgrace on these arms, nor desert the man next me in the ranks, but will fight for the sanctities and the common good, both alone and with others. I will not leave the fatherland diminished, but greater and

[6] Quoted by G. Stanley Hall in ADOLESCENCE, Vol. II, p. 252.

better by sea and land than I received it. I will listen always to those who have the power of decision, and obey existing laws and all others which the people shall agree in ordaining; and if anyone would nullify or refuse to obey them, I will not permit it, but will defend them, whether alone or with others. I will honor the religion of my native land, witness the gods." This oath was administered with solemn ceremonies, and the youths were then introduced to the people by the herald, were given the best places in the theater, and were made to feel the extreme importance of the stage they had now reached. In some parts of Greece the boys were now full-fledged citizens, soldiers, and voters; in others they must serve in the army or on the frontiers, and in Sparta full citizenship was delayed till the age of thirty. In Sparta the emphasis was upon military training and physical perfection: when the child was born he had to be taken before the elders, who passed judgment upon him as worthy to live or not; if he was well built and strong, he was returned to his mother to be cared for till seven, when the State claimed him. The boys lived in barracks and were inured to hardships, which, if we may believe Plutarch, were little short of the ordeals of the primitives.

In later Greece, after the Persian wars, education became more highly organized, and the accounts of the customs and activities of the students have a very modern

ring. Schools and subjects multiplied, and numerous "specialists" were developed in the service of youth. No race has so idealized the adolescent boy as did the Greeks. He was so immortalized in art and literature that down to the present day the ideals of Western civilization for its youth, both physical and mental, derive from the days of Pericles, and we are forever harking back, in our Boy Scout movements, our movements for physical and military training in the colleges, our athletics and sports, in the vast majority of which only the young can take part, to the ideals of physical perfection and prowess developed by the Greeks.

G. Stanley Hall, in the first volume of ADOLESCENCE, has collected for us a group of the "Golden lads" of Greece as they appear in the Platonic dialogues. Charmides, a beautiful youth, whose soul was as lovely as his body, and whom all his companions loved, who was so full of grace and charm that "all the world seemed enamored of him, and amazement and confusion reigned when he entered"; Lysis, shy, impulsive, artlessly candid, like a child, as indeed he probably was; Meno, a highly sophisticated, spoiled child of fortune, eager to learn from anyone; Ion, reciting Homer in impassioned rhetoric and winning prizes thereby; Polus, "impetuous, a run-a-way colt, bad-mannered and violent, . . . ready to maintain his position against the world"; Alcibiades, "the most

radiant and conscious boy beauty of them all," about to enter public life and anxious to make himself a force among the people; Isocrates, "full of promise," ending the learned discussion of rhetoric and dialectics with a prayer for inner beauty of the soul: these boys were "the flower of Athenian youth . . . all alike displaying a charming simplicity and genuineness, unspoiled even though they were the center of admiration of young and old, the objects of an almost religious adoration." How much these youths were actual personalities and how much literary creations we cannot say, but they give us a glimpse of the Hellenic ideals for their adolescent boys. However, the Greek education of youth was lacking in one important respect: the boys had no opportunity for normal association with girls. Greek life at this period was organized on the theory that association with girls and women would exercise a deleterious effect upon the boy; indeed, the well-born Athenian girl had little to offer in the way of companionship, as she was denied all training which might have enabled her to meet him halfway. She was trained for a marriage in which she was merely the mother of her husband's children and his "faithful housekeeper." He did not expect intellectual companionship from her, nor even sympathy and understanding. For these he went to the Hetairai, the "stranger-women," who made a profession of becoming

mistresses to the Grecian men; for his imperious sexual needs he had recourse to concubines, if he could afford them, or to prostitutes. But these were for maturity; the adolescent boy served his apprenticeship to sex by becoming the "beloved" of an older man, who showered presents and extravagant praises upon him and engaged in homosexual practices with him. Thus was the feminine in his nature developed, while at the same time exclusive association with men gave him only masculine ideals and unfitted him for a well-rounded and fully developed manhood.

When we glimpse the adolescent boy in Rome, we find him assuming the *toga virilis,* or mantle of manhood, as a token that he had passed from childhood. The age at which this was done was usually decided by the father. Cæsar was said to have put on the *toga virilis* in his fourteenth year. Under the Empire the lower limit of puberty was fixed by law at fourteen for boys and twelve for girls. There was considerable ceremony connected with the event, which usually occurred at the festival of Liberalia, in the spring. Clad in the new all-white garment of manhood, the boy stood before his household gods and formally took off the garments which he had worn as a child and which were the same for all free-born children. They were then hung up over the hearth as an offering. Next morning, accompanied by relations and

friends, he went first to the Forum, as a symbol of his first public act, then to the Capitol, where he offered sacrifice and his name was inscribed in the tribal list of citizens. There followed a feast, often elaborate, and perhaps gifts and entertainments for the people. The boy was now a man, with full legal responsibility, and could proceed to the choice of a career, which, however, was limited for the free-born youth largely to law or the army.

During the Middle Ages the institution of knighthood arose, with ideals not unlike the Greeks' in the emphasis it put upon the development of the body. In Wm. Stearns Davis' [7] LIFE ON A MEDIÆVAL BARONY we find an account of the education of a young knight six hundred years ago.

Aimery attended church and was taught to be pious, but his dreams were of being a warrior. At seven or eight he had his own horse, hawks, and dogs, cared for them himself, and was sent down into the dense forest on long rides that he might learn courage and self-reliance. He learned to fence, to play games like backgammon, to read, to thrum a harp, and to sing. Then at sixteen he was sent to a nobleman who had been a friend of his father's (Aimery's father was dead, and he was under the care of an older brother) to be "nourished,"

[7] Chap. X. See reference at end of chapter.

since "no father or brother could enforce sufficient discipline over a growing lad, and it was proper that he should have to obey before he governed." Here he was trained in the use of arms, attended the Count as a constant companion, cared for the horses, waited on table, looked after the guests, learned courtesy to women by dancing attendance on the women of the family, and in general seems to have been busy every waking moment. In addition, while still a lad he had large responsibilities thrust upon him, learning how to handle men and affairs. After four years he attained his majority, but as the old Count died about this time, Aimery's brother assumed the responsibility of his being knighted. There was a great ceremony, for which the candidates prepared by a ceremonial bath to wash away all the sins of their past lives and enable them to come out pure. They then underwent an ordeal of vigil at the church, spending a night of ten hours either standing or kneeling, and engaging in constant meditation and prayer. In the morning they returned to the castle, broke their fast, received many gifts, and later repaired to the exercise ground by the garden, where each was presented with the habiliments of knighthood by his sponsors, the golden spurs, the armor and helmet, the sword and shield; then, in turn each knelt before the great nobleman who was acting as master of ceremonies and was struck upon the

neck—no mean blow—by the gentleman's fist, this being known as "dubbing." He was then declared a knight and presented with his horse, which, weighed down with armor as he was, he must leap upon without touching. This was the crucial moment, to which his mother had looked forward all her life: "Will he be able to make the leap?" Fortunately Aimery made it and was now a full-fledged knight, ready to ride to conquest and to sue for the favor of his lady.

Later the training was developed more formally; the boy remained at home with his mother till seven, then was sent to another nobleman for training, became a page from seven to fifteen and a squire from fifteen to twenty-one, when with elaborate and often beautiful ceremonies he became a knight, vowing to be a "brave, loyal, generous, just and gentle knight, a champion of the Church, a redresser of the wrongs of widows and orphans, and a protector of ladies." He had grown up saturated with the ideals of chivalry, nurtured on tales of King Arthur and his knights and the quest for the Holy Grail; he had learned obedience and courtesy, the idealization of women and the love of warfare. The ideal adolescent of knight errantry was Sir Galahad, who found the Grail when all others missed it, because he alone had the requisite singleness of purpose and purity of heart. These old tales of knighthood and the youthful Galahad still

have a powerful appeal to the young adolescent boy.

The lives of the Saints present us with another type of adolescent who flourished during the Middle Ages. Side by side with the boy who was inspired by the classical ideas of knighthood was the young religionist, often himself of noble blood, but eschewing the delights of war and love and vowing himself to the service of God and the Church. St. Hilarion at fifteen was consumed with longing to visit St. Anthony in the desert, and upon being permitted to do so immediately stripped himself of all his belongings and entered the desert "naked but armed in Christ," and endured terrible temptations from the devil, "temptations of the senses, with horrid dreams of beasts and woman"; but he conquered finally while still a mere lad. St. Benedict, at fourteen, well born and wealthy, renounced everything and lived in a dark and inaccessible cave in the hills, disciplining himself by rolling naked in thorns and briars. St. Bernard at the age of twelve had a vision in which his dead mother urged him to become a monk, though such was his love of learning that he did not obey for several years; St. Francis of Paula began his self-denials at twelve, and at fifteen shut himself in a cave in the hills with no bed but the hard rock and no food but herbs. True to the religious teaching of the time, these boys tormented and even mutilated their bodies to discipline the awakening sex-consciousness, and

the story of their struggles is exceedingly illuminating to the student of adolescence. The contrast of the free and joyous attitude toward sex which we find in such a people as the Samoans with the attitude of horror and loathing inculcated by the medieval Church could be no greater, and it serves to emphasize the fact that most of the difficulties in adolescent adjustment are not inherent in the nature of adolescence itself, but due to the patterns which society attempts to force upon it.

We know little of the other youths of those days, the sons of serfs and villeins on the feudal estates, and of the working people of the towns, but we catch a glimpse of them in the medieval mystery plays and in old chronicles and legends and in some of the old ballads and poems. Their manners were rough, their speech uncouth, their minds untrained. They reached maturity early, married, and youth, with any chances of individual development, was over.

The children of the poor were put to work when very young and must have had to undergo much suffering. The Middle Ages believed that every child should be trained to do something, and among the poorer people the custom of apprenticeship grew up. During the Sixteenth Century in England it became a law that every child should have such training as to fit him for business or a calling. Some were apprenticed to trades and some

to agriculture. A parent had to prove that he was able to furnish maintenance for his children if they were not apprenticed; otherwise the authorities had the power to take them away from him and apprentice them. The term of service lasted in France from three to thirteen years, while in England it generally lasted seven years. The boy was cared for by his master in the way of food, clothing, lodging, and other needs. After his years of service were completed, the apprentice became a journeyman and entered regularly upon his trade, receiving wages for his labor. Military training for boys was also quite common. In England a law was passed in 1511 which provided that every man "having a man child or men children in his house, shall provide for all such being of the age of seven years and above until they shall come to the age of seventeen years a bow and two shafts to learn them and bring them up in shooting, and after each young man shall come to the age of seventeen years everyone of them shall provide and have a bow and four arrows continually for himself and shall use the same as afore is rehearsed." [8] Betrothal and marriage took place early, betrothal occurring between quite young children. In England boys could be married at fourteen and girls at twelve. Our American colonies carried over many of

[8] Chrisman, THE HISTORICAL CHILD, p. 292. See reference at end of chapter.

the customs of the mother country, and the apprentice and the "bound lad" appear frequently in our early history. In the colonies, too, boys married very early, not only among the poor, but in the so-called higher classes. Their education was complete, and they were ready for the serious business of living at eighteen or nineteen.

Though the pubertal rites and ceremonies have differed so greatly in different places, and the training of the boy within historical times has been conducted along seemingly totally divergent lines, we can discern some common principles underlying them. In all times and places since history began, and among primitives also, we find the tacit assumption that the new generation was to carry on the work of the old, to continue building as their fathers had built. For this the young must be trained, and as an integral part of it, respect for the authority and opinions of the elders must be enforced. Youth is always skeptical and impatient of the claims of authority, so means must be devised to impress it. The puberty ordeals, the beatings and initiations of the primitives, served this purpose, as well as the supernatural sanctions that were invoked. In classical antiquity, in spite of the intellectual freedom of the Greeks, with its attendant cult of individuality, the boy was bound fast within the limits of his culture and felt himself pledged

to carry it on. In times of social change and revolution youth bursts its bounds and tends to take things into its own hands. This is what the elders fear, even though unconsciously, and what they must prevent at any cost, for the young lack experience and a perspective, and they would tear down traditions and set aside values which the group has worked out with infinite cost to itself. Jealousy of youth, its vigor and attractiveness, and even of the sheer fact of youth itself, has played its part in the training of the boy, and the hatred to which it gives rise accounts for much of the excessive severity of education in all times.

Thus we see, from primitive times on down to the present, it is the social significance of adolescence that has continued to be stressed. Throughout all history, in the most primitive cultures as well as in those most highly developed, we see the boy-child arriving at manhood and assuming its social rights and obligations; his ambitions and ideals are shaped by his culture, as are his manners. But he is still a boy, after all, and underneath the same fires are burning, the same desires are struggling for expression. To recognize this fact, to make the adjustment between his psychological needs, which earlier times could not understand as we do, and the requirements of the society in which he is to play his part, is the task of education in the Twentieth Century.

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among the primitives

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Chapter II

Puberty and Its Problems

Primitive notions in present-day thought—Bodily changes at puberty—Development of the glandular system—The sex or "puberty glands"—The external organs of reproduction—Physical disorders and puberty—Nervous instability—Chorea, epilepsy, encephalitis—The mental aspects of sexual development—Emotional attitudes of puberty and early adolescence—Influence of early training and "conditioning" upon adolescent attitudes—Influence of the group—Interest in religion—Great differences among individual boys.

Though it is a far cry from savagery to the Western world of today, many primitive notions still linger in the thinking of the average man and woman. Primitive man, as we have seen, conceived of puberty as a religious state and under the sway of magic. This attitude toward the period still persists, under different guises. It is a time set apart, different, in which magical changes may take place. How often do we hear, "he will outgrow it," "when the pubertal spurt appears," or the lament that the boy has suddenly developed some physical or mental trait that was unknown before? It cannot be too often

emphasized that puberty creates nothing new, but merely brings to light trends that were already existent. In our ignorance of physical facts we permit or foster activities unsuited to the growing organism, and thus inherent weaknesses develop. In our desire to push the boy ahead, to give him perhaps opportunities we missed, we ignore signs that nature hangs out regarding his mental and emotional fitness for our designs. Instead of recognizing puberty for what it is, the stage at which the reproductive organs begin to function, with all their attendant mental, emotional, and social reverberations, we still think of it as a magical time when almost anything is likely to happen.

It is, nevertheless, true that there is considerable difference between a child's body and an adult's, and though growth and development proceed normally in an orderly fashion from the time of the child's conception, it is during adolescence that the developmental changes are completed, so that throughout maturity, barring muscular development and the deposit of fat, the body normally has a fairly consistent appearance and function. Growth proceeds at different rates and different times in different organs, and there is considerable variation among different individuals. In the child the trunk and head are larger in proportion to the limbs, and the great increase in height during early adolescence is largely due to the

growth of the long bones, though all the bones share in an accelerated growth and development. The muscles sometimes fail to keep pace with the bones, or more frequently outstrip them, so that for a time the boy is awkward and clumsy, especially at anything that involves use of the finer muscles of fingers, throat, and lips, or the finer coördinations involved in dancing, skating, and so on. The heart, which is essentially a muscle, grows very rapidly at puberty, and becomes much larger relative to the blood vessels than it was in childhood. There are sometimes a temporary enlargement and various functional disturbances, such as palpitation and "skipped beats," which need occasion no alarm. However, if the rate of growth is very rapid the boy may fatigue easily and need to be guarded for a while from undue exertion. There are, of course, many cases of actual heart disease in children, which should always be under the care of a competent physician.

The chest enlarges at puberty, in common with the rest of the skeleton, and lung capacity increases rapidly. We must remark, however, the differences in size and shape of the trunk which become more evident during adolescence. Not only is the circumference of the chest of importance, but its depth is even more so. The lungs cannot develop beyond the size of the cavity that contains them, and a narrow or shallow chest betokens poor lung

power. If the boy grows rapidly he may be inclined to stoop, thus further cutting off lung development, and if he is bookish or disinclined to sports and outdoor games, it becomes a real problem to provide for his normal physical development. If, on the contrary, he is ambitious to excel and attempts feats of endurance, he is likely to suffer, so that in either case he should have a rather careful régime worked out for him, for a few years, at least.

The growth of the brain ceases in early adolescence, though cell development, upon which mental function depends, continues for many years. But it is the growth and development of the glandular system, especially of the gonads or so-called puberty glands, which is most spectacular, and which apparently accounts for many of the physical changes of this period. It is well known that in the early days of fœtal life the individual is not outwardly differentiated as to sex, and it is some five weeks before male or female organs can be recognized as such. Though at birth one set or the other of the external organs is normally developed, each sex carries within it rudiments of the other, and, as we shall see later, psychologically there is almost no differentiation. The male child has to learn, so to speak, the mental and emotional attitudes of masculinity. Boys and girls up to the age of puberty are very much alike in physical characteristics. The size and shape of the skeleton, the smooth skin, the

distribution of hair, the high-pitched voices, are very similar. As puberty approaches, the boy becomes more lean and muscular, hair begins to grow in the pubic region, his voice becomes husky and uncertain and soon takes on deeper tones. Somewhat later the axillary hair (that under the arms) develops, and the fine down that covered his body in childhood gives place to a more or less pronounced hairy growth, especially upon the arms, legs, and chest. The hair of the head darkens and often becomes straighter. By eighteen the beard has developed, in most cases. The external organs of reproduction, the genitals, increase greatly in size. By twenty-one or -two usually the boy has the characteristic development of the adult male.

A number of glands are concerned in the development of the so-called "secondary sex characteristics." The thyroid, owing to the part it plays in the fundamental nutritional processes of the body, has a profound effect upon the growth changes of puberty. This gland grows very rapidly now, though the enlargement known as goiter is less apt to occur in boys than in girls. The pituitary gland in the skull, lying beneath the brain and directly back of the bridge of the nose, is also closely associated with growth in general and sexual development in particular. Tumors upon this gland have been known to produce precocious sexual development, with great

increase in stature, the characteristic pubertal growth of hair, even of a beard, and adult development of the external sex organs. On the other hand, deficiency in the pituitary secretion results in great retardation of growth, so that the boy is of dwarfish stature, with small hands and feet, and a peculiar distribution of fat; the genital organs remain undeveloped. The thymus, lying in the upper part of the chest, is essentially a gland of childhood, as it begins to disappear at puberty; if it persists the boy retains the softened contours, the falsetto voice and smooth skin of childhood, so that his appearance is more feminine than masculine.

But the glands of most importance and without which there would be no pubertal development at all are the reproductive glands, the most important in the boy being the testes or testicles. These are small organs about an inch and a half long suspended in the sack-like scrotum. They are developed in the body of the fœtus and not a great while before birth "descend" or move along to their normal position outside the body in the scrotum. Sometimes this descent is not completed before birth, or the testicle remains "undescended." When this happens the boy is likely to have other signs of lack of development. Sometimes it can be aided by treatment, and again nothing seems available to help the condition. The left testicle is usually somewhat larger than the right, and the

left side of the scrotum correspondingly larger and lower. Thousands of boys have worried their heads off over this perfectly normal state of affairs, fearing that it betokens something wrong, that in some way or other they are not normal.

Experiments upon animals, observation of pathological cases and the results of accident, as well as what we know of cases in those countries where castration (removal of the testes) is practiced, show us conclusively that it is these glands which play the major rôle in pubertal development. If they are removed in childhood, the boy continues to grow and develop, but at puberty he fails to develop the secondary sex characteristics. Throughout life he retains a smooth face, a boyish build, and a childish voice. The function of the testes is the manufacture of the sperm cells, which are produced by the million and stored away in the seminal vesicles, lying between the bladder and the rectum. From this storage place they are discharged, when needed, through the urethra, which is also the canal leading from the bladder. The seminal fluid as discharged contains secretions from several other glands of the reproductive system, the nature of these secretions not being very well understood as yet, though they are known to be necessary if fertilization is to take place. The sperm cell itself, or spermatozoön, is a microscopic particle so minute that it would take five

hundred of them, laid end to end, to measure an inch. This is the cell that unites with a cell from the ovary of the female in the creation of a child. Though ordinarily only one can, under the most favorable circumstances, be expected to survive, it is estimated that more than two hundred million sperm cells are discharged at each emission.

The penis is the other external organ of the male reproductive system, and because of its extreme sensitivity and its power of changing its size, consistency, and position in the phenomenon known as "erection" is an object of extreme solicitude and attention by the boy from his babyhood. At puberty these involuntary erections become more frequent; the boy becomes intensely conscious of them and of new thoughts and feelings connected with them. Another perfectly normal phenomenon makes its appearance at this time, and if the boy is uninstructed may cause him an untold amount of worry and mental suffering; this is the involuntary emission, or discharge of seminal fluid which takes place at night, sometimes during deep sleep, or more often accompanied by an exciting dream of a sexual nature. Generations of boys have been preyed upon by quacks and fakers, who lead them to believe that such emissions are abnormal and must be checked by the use of their remedies, often at great expense. Needless to say they are not checked, and

the boy, minus his money, is in a greater quandary than ever. Surely every boy approaching the teens should be made acquainted with the disturbing thoughts and feelings that will soon accompany erections, and with the entire normality of nocturnal emissions. These two facts are probably of greater importance in the life of the average boy of fourteen than any other factors whatsoever, and yet we permit him to struggle along without any knowledge to base his actions upon other than that picked up from other boys or from veiled allusions in newspaper advertisements.

In a girl the accomplishment of physical puberty is marked by the appearance of the first menstruation, but there is no such definite way of establishing it in a boy. One might think that the appearance of emissions would mean the actual physical maturity of the reproductive system, but emissions may occur for some time before spermatozoa are present; as a matter of fact, there is no sure means of determining just when a boy has passed the milestone of puberty. We can only approximate it by the external signs of local growth and development.

Because of the accelerated growth of parts and organs, and the general instability which accompanies it, we might expect puberty to be a time of special susceptibility to disease, but this does not appear to be true. It is as if nature's effort toward growth and development provided

an immunity toward physical disease. The curve of the so-called infectious diseases of childhood, measles, whooping-cough, and so on, drops very rapidly, and that dread scourge of youth, tuberculosis, lies quiescent for a few years, until the growth energy has spent itself. There is, however, a skin condition which often develops at this time, and lasts throughout the period of development, unless specially treated. This is the condition known as acne, an eruption of "pimples" about the mouth, sometimes on the cheeks and forehead, and occasionally on the back. These may be large and unsightly and a source of great annoyance to the boy. Sometimes they are accompanied by an oily, muddy skin, with the appearance of not being clean. And too often that is actually the case: the boy has not learned the necessity of actual scrubbings with a good soap and clean sponges or cloths. No lotion or other local treatment can take the place of real cleanliness of the skin. Acne is probably due to a variety of causes, chief among which are constipation and a lack of proper diet. Though it has ordinarily no consequences (certain forms may leave scars), it is a source of great worry and misery to the possessor, especially as he grows older and becomes interested in girls, and the boy who suffers from it should not be left to rely upon the corner drug store, but should have the attention of a competent physician.

Tuberculosis, as we have long known, is essentially a disease of childhood, and many children have it in a slight form, thus acquiring an immunity. The child who has plenty of fresh air and sunshine, together with the vitamin-containing foods, such as milk and vegetables, stands an excellent chance of handling an infection with little or no difficulty, unless he is of the narrow-chested type discussed above, who runs the danger of getting insufficient oxygen to help fight the disease microbes. The majority of cases, however, do not develop marked symptoms until middle or late adolescence. Whether or not this is due to the more sedentary lives that many young people begin to lead at this time is not proven, though we know that tuberculosis flourishes among youth who must work or study under unsanitary conditions, especially lack of sunlight. Indeed, the most successful treatment of all forms of tuberculosis consists merely in exposing the body to the sun's rays, in properly graded "dosage." There are some specialists, however, who insist that the reason youths develop tuberculosis is because, owing to the intensive campaigns against it in the last quarter century, they have not been exposed in childhood, therefore have no immunity, and when they meet infection acquire it easily.

But if puberty is a time of quiescence so far as physical diseases are concerned, the same cannot be said of nervous

conditions. The years of early adolescence are marked by instability in nervous function. Chorea, or St. Vitus's dance, though frequent in later childhood, often develops around the time of puberty. The awkward, clumsy movements so often associated with this period are intensified, the boy is irritable, "grouchy," there are twitchings of the facial muscles, perhaps convulsive movements of the arms or legs, or even of the abdomen. Concentration is poor, and school work becomes difficult or even impossible. The naturally anxious parents may fuss and worry, and the doctor advises rest and quiet, which the boy finds exceedingly irksome, and a cure is somewhat difficult. Chorea is as often a symptom of something wrong in the boy's emotional life, as a disease in itself. It occurs in high-strung and sensitive children, who find the mental and social adjustments required at adolescence too much of a strain. We seldom find it, however, in a boy whose home life is harmonious and whose childhood has been healthy and free from emotional stress. In this, as in practically everything else occurring in adolescence, we must look to the boy's earlier life to find its roots. A healthy, happy childhood is the surest guarantee of a normal adolescence.

Epilepsy is another nervous illness which frequently first presents itself in unmistakable form at puberty. Sometimes it is its first appearance, or there may have

been convulsions in infancy, or nervous attacks of obscure origin, which seemingly disappear. Certain forms of dementia præcox, which formerly was known as "adolescent insanity," develop during adolescence, as do depressions of every type, which are often the forerunners of more serious attacks in later life. On the other hand, marked nervous instability or even "nervous breakdowns" are often outgrown as the boy develops, and maturity with its broader experiences and its more stable nervous organization is reached. Healy,[1] who has perhaps studied more adolescents than anyone in this country, believes that many of the nervous instabilities of adolescence, "irritability, changeableness, aggressiveness, moodiness" . . . even "actual confusional states, sometimes with hyper-active tendencies and sudden yielding to impulses" are completely recovered from, and that "good treatment," by which he means understanding care in a good home, hastens such recovery.

Encephalitis, popularly known as "sleeping sickness," has claimed many child victims in the last two decades, leaving a train of nervous disturbances in its wake. Older children who have had encephalitis may not show intellectual deterioration, at least as measured by standard tests, but often develop extreme behavior difficulties.

[1] Healy, Bronner, Baylor and Murphy: RECONSTRUCTING BEHAVIOR IN YOUTH, p. 7.

They are untruthful, disobedient, cruel, extremely irritable, become truants, thieves, or sex offenders. Here again we find that, though proper treatment shortens the time of the disturbance,[2] time itself is a curative factor, and often the nervousness and bad behavior become less pronounced as maturity nears. There are other cases, however, in which the condition becomes worse with the passage of time.

However, when all is said and done, it is the development of the reproductive system, with its mental, emotional, and social reverberations, that gives to puberty its distinctive aspect, and that furnishes its most persistent problems. To understand them a little better we must again direct our attention to infancy, for psycho-sexual development, or the development of the mental and emotional side of sex, begins there and proceeds normally until full maturity is reached.

The infant's body is at first the only thing of which he can be really cognizant. The sensations which he receives in it provide his first experience with reality and set the key for all his future dealings with it. It is some time before he can distinguish it from his surroundings, can mark off, so to speak, the "me" from the "not-me." In the process of getting acquainted with himself as a

[2] Bond and Appel: THE TREATMENT OF BEHAVIOR DISORDERS FOLLOWING ENCEPHALITIS. See references at end of chapter.

physical being he finds certain parts of his body richer in sensations than others. The lips and mouth form such a "pleasure zone," and he plays with them in many ways. Of all the parts of his body, however, he finds his genital organs provide him with the most distinctive sensations, and it is inevitable that he should handle them and ask questions about them. If he meets with rebuffs, scoldings, threats, or even such remarks as "if you love mummy you'll never do that again," an attitude toward sex as something secret, shameful, or low or vile is set up, and may prove of very great importance in his future development. For no matter how much we might wish it otherwise, the psychology of the boy is going to develop around this central fact of his masculinity, this part of his body which is so different from the rest of it, so rich in sensation, and so persistently in his consciousness. The little girl may ignore her genitals or even be ignorant of them, but the little boy cannot do so. When he plays with other little boys he is going to look and compare and wonder, perhaps engage in urinary plays or attempt feats, learn vulgar names and hear obscene remarks and stories. If he has been circumcised and his little companions have not, if he plays with older boys, or if his genitals happen to be small in comparison with those of his playmates, he is likely to develop a feeling of inferiority which may carry over into the belief that he is

different from other boys, that something has been left out of his make-up, or even, as in the case of a fourteen-year-old whom the writer knew, who was the only one of his group to have been circumcised, that his father had tried to make him into a girl.

If the child cannot mention his fears to his parents, if he gathers the idea that all this which is so important to him is somehow shameful and wicked, or even the result of his own wrong-doing, the seeds of future difficulty in adjustment are sown. For along with his physical development and the things that grow out of it and are inextricably bound up with it, his emotional attitudes are developing. His interest in himself is the beginning of his future love life; the people and things who give him pleasure and make him happy and comfortable are his first love objects, and if these people teach him that the physical side of sex is a shameful or forbidden thing, in future years he is likely to make a separation between the mental and physical aspects of love and feel that a girl whom he truly loves and respects cannot be the object of physical desire.

There have been cultures, as we have seen, in which this separation had social approval; the wife was a respectable woman, whose function was the bearing and rearing of children and "looking well to the ways of the husband's household." But he was not supposed to en-

tertain a physical passion for her or to be faithful to her in marriage. Our civilization, however, whatever it practices, teaches that a man and woman who marry should love each other in every sense, and be faithful to each other throughout their married lives. The number of marriages that have been wrecked on this rock of the man's inability to make a sex adjustment to the woman whom he loves and respects above all others can be guessed at by the psychiatrist, who meets it so frequently, and has its beginnings in the child's first experiences with the physical facts of sex.

Other very important attitudes toward sex apparently have their origin in this early period also. We have said that while the physical characteristics of sex are developed at birth, psychologically it is still undetermined; whether the boy develops the characteristic masculine interests and emotional attitudes or their opposites will depend upon his experiences and the attitudes they call out in him. We do not mean to imply that the child is entirely at the mercy of his environment; neither is it true that his glands or some other obscure part of his physical organization have pointed him inevitably toward a normal or abnormal psychological development. He will give interest and love to some object or objects, and he will learn to do so according as his experiences meet his needs of the moment.

The mother or whoever takes her place is the child's first love object; she is the source of satisfaction of all his needs, and the dependence thus set up takes shape later as an emotional bond which may be exceedingly hard to break. In his eagerness for her approval he may strive to be like her, and incorporate her fears and timidities or her traditional "feminine" attitudes into himself; he becomes "mother's boy" or "mother's little sweetheart," and grows up gentle and good but unable to hold his own with his more aggressive mates. The same thing may happen if the mother is too aggressive and dominating, in which case he is far more apt to have an unhappy childhood, but his feminine traits are called out by the dominance of the parent.

If it is the father who is harsh and dominant, he may react by submission and fear, or in imitation of the parent develop an aggressive and premature masculinity. The outer attitude, however, does not necessarily correspond to the inner one. He may be boyish or masculine enough, but in his secret soul be afraid of all love which does not promise protection and security. Thus the seeds of homosexuality are sown, even though it may never come to overt expression or indeed even to the boy's consciousness.

As he grows out of infancy and into childhood the physical side of sex probably becomes less prominent in

his mind for a few years. School, play, and other interests engage his attention, though it cannot be denied that the average boy has little opportunity to forget the paramount importance of sex in the modern world. He hears sex talk, is shown pictures, and in one way or another picks up enough information to satisfy his curiosity. As the years mount toward puberty, he begins to withdraw from his little girl playmates, to join teams and gangs, and to begin in earnest the business of learning the ways of the masculine world. Upon the associations that he forms now and the experiences that he meets depend much of his later development. For soon the physical developments of puberty will put a new aspect upon the entire matter. He may have been well taught, have had all his questions answered truthfully, and be fully informed upon the actual facts, but the emotions of puberty and the awakening sex life are something for which he can scarcely be prepared. The feelings which he now experiences are entirely new, and as he is almost invariably tongue-tied on the subject, he is prevented from learning that he is passing through a universal human experience. There is probably no one more inarticulate than the young adolescent boy upon the subject of his emotions. He is not introspective, he has no words to describe them in, and, anyway, it is contrary to his code to give expression to emotions. And so he covers

the first stirrings of the adolescent ferment with indifference or bravado.

During this period his feelings are not so apt to be directed toward girls. It is the gang stage *par excellence,* the heyday of boys' clubs, Boy Scouts, pals, and so on, and the boy may and should learn invaluable lessons of coöperation, team play and group loyalty from his associations with these groups. But because it is the period when his sex feelings are awakening, it has its dangers also. An older boy who is preoccupied with sex or a man with unwholesome sex attitudes can plant ideas in the boy's mind which may persist for years, and cases of seduction of young boys by older men are not at all uncommon. Indeed much expert opinion inclines to the idea that homosexuality is never fixed as a way of life except by such experiences around the time of puberty. If a boy has had the feminine side of his nature developed by his infantile experiences, a homosexual experience at puberty, when the tide of sex is beginning to run so strong, serves to settle his feelings upon his own sex with consequent inability to make an adjustment to the opposite sex. As we have seen, homosexuality was considered a part of the boy's education by the Greeks, but it certainly does not fit into the scheme of modern life, and quite apart from the social disapproval which it incurs, invariably marks its possessor out as an emotionally

stunted personality. He is stranded with the emotional attitudes of infancy and early adolescence, cut off from those satisfactions which can come only with complete fulfillment of his biological rôle. Floyd Dell[3] thinks that homosexuality is a device worked out (unconsciously, of course) in patriarchal societies to keep the youths infantile and so subservient to the father's wishes.

But if the boy is not already turned toward this type of adjustment he may engage in homosexual plays with boys of his own age with little subsequent harm, except that he is apt to look back upon these experiences with shame and disgust as he grows older. However, if the matter is discovered and he is lectured, frightened, or punished he may develop an inordinate sense of guilt and inferiority and suffer greatly in consequence. Expulsion from school or from the group and branding as a degenerate are the worst things that could happen to him. He is all too likely to go on then in perverted practices, believing that he is "like that" and there is nothing else for him to do.

However, the boy at puberty is far less likely to be seduced or to stumble into homosexuality than he is to engage in masturbation. The experiences of early childhood have prepared him, and the tension in his body, the sensations in the genitals that overwhelm him from time

[3] LOVE IN THE MACHINE AGE. See reference at end of Chap. VII.

to time, and his heightened sensitivity to all forms of stimulation, bring it about naturally enough, without the "teaching" by other boys that we so often hear blamed. Formerly the masturbation of puberty was regarded as a dreadful affair; the boy was told that he would ruin his health and make himself unfit for marriage; he was threatened with idiocy and insanity and in an earlier age with the fires of hell. The length to which boys have gone to rid themselves of the habit is illustrated by the fourteen-year-old St. Benedict, who, living alone in a dark and inaccessible cave, was so "strongly tempted to voluptuousness, that stripping himself naked he rolled in a clump of thorns and briars till his body was all one wound." [4] A more modern instance is recorded by Dr. Hall in his LIFE AND CONFESSIONS OF A PSYCHOLOGIST. At the sacrifice of his natural reticence he tells us of his pubertal struggles against the habit, and of the ingenious apparatus which he rigged up to confine his hands so that they might not "sin against him" in his sleep. How such an attitude should have grown up toward a practically universal practice is something of a mystery, but certain it is that there is nothing connected with the sex life that has been so loaded with misery and shame for the adolescent boy as his struggles with auto-eroticism. Even in after life the man is apt to look back upon it with a secret

[4] G. Stanley Hall, ADOLESCENCE, Vol. I, p. 526.

shame and fear, which may come to expression as in the case of the father who dragged his two little boys of twelve and thirteen to a psychiatrist, imploring help for them because he had discovered that they were masturbating. The boys, although terrified by their father's attitude, were healthy and normal youngsters. When the doctor quietly put the question, "How old were you when you broke yourself of the habit?" the man chokingly replied, "But I was abnormal, I must have been, to do such a degrading thing. That's what I'm afraid of, that my boys have inherited my abnormality." [5]

It is probable, however, that it is not the physical aspects of masturbation that work most havoc in the boy's mind, but the fantasies connected with it. No matter how they are disguised, they reanimate the forbidden thoughts of his infancy and bring a feeling of guilt that is quite inexplicable to him, so he fastens it upon the act itself. It is, of course, possible, and often true in neurotic boys, that these fantasied excursions into the realm of sex may take the place of more normal activities, so that instead of getting acquainted with girls and setting up the train of activities that normally culminates in marriage, he shuns girls and continues his self-centered sex life, thus developing into an abnormal personality.[6] But this

[5] Reported in a private conversation by Dr. Loren Johnson.
[6] See Chap. VI, p. 52.

is not the case in the normal boy; he may endure anxiety and consider himself degraded by his urge toward relief of sex tension, but the tension lessens as he develops, and tends more and more to work itself off in his sleep, and in one way or another he manages to get hold of himself. By seventeen or eighteen most boys have broken themselves of the habit, though occasionally it carries over into adult life. There seems little doubt that for the normal boy the pubertal struggle with masturbation, provided it is not intensified by fears engendered by false teaching, serves a useful purpose in delaying his rush toward adult sex relations for which he is by no means ready, and may have considerable significance in the development of character. He conquers, and in so doing gains confidence in himself for future struggles.

If as parents and teachers we could strip ourselves of our own fears of sex we might be better guides for our youth. Fourteen-year-old Jerry seated himself on the kitchen table in the farmhouse one morning and put it up to his mother thus:

"Gosh, mother, what's a fellow to do when he gets to having the feelings I have? You told me they'd come, but I'm having an awful tough time of it. You've just got to help me out."

"What's the matter, son?"

"Why, it just gets ahead of me sometimes. I'm just

sure I won't do it, and then I do. Isn't there some way to help it?"

"I've told you all I know. I never was a boy, and I don't know all the feelings you have. It's up to you, I guess. You're going to be a man before long, and you won't want any childish habits hanging over. All I know to do is to work hard and play hard and don't worry about it."

"Well, I can do that, if you're sure I'm coming out all right."

"Of course I'm sure."

The conversation closed, and thereafter Jerry occasionally made a cryptic remark to the effect that though he might slip once in a while he had no intention of staying down. This was a splendid boy who with his mother's help finished college and obtained a fine position. Then, knowing her own interrupted dream, he turned to his mother and said, "It's your turn now; you've helped me and I'll help you. To college you go." So at forty-two Mrs. B—— went to college. Three years later her graduation and Jerry's wedding were celebrated together. His mother had nothing but her common sense to guide her and had no idea her methods were different from most others.

There are indications that this sane and normal attitude toward the matter is gaining ground, as in recent

years one meets the adolescent who frankly acknowledges that he has masturbated or still is doing so and repeats the opinion of a camp director or scout master that it will do him no harm if he doesn't think much about it and does not let it become a habit. It has been the experience of most psychiatrists that this assurance is all the boy needs to enable him to handle the matter himself.

All too often, however, the youth receives counsel from other boys, or even, sometimes, from his own father, to the effect that the practice is very harmful and that it is better to have intercourse. Formerly the next step was the introduction to the prostitute, or at least to the girl or woman of loose morals, but this does not seem to happen so frequently now—at least, not in America. The number of youths in late adolescence or early maturity who will assert that they have never visited prostitutes but have always "gone with nice girls" raises the question as to who the girls are. In spite of the opinion of some workers with young people that there are far fewer sex escapades among them than the publicity about the matter would lead us to think, the writer is inclined to believe that sex relations of some sort are very common among young adolescent boys and girls. There are always girls who are easy marks, as well as girls who are willing to try anything once, and there are certainly girls who consider themselves "nice" who are not above occa-

sional relationships with a boy whom they consider "nice" also. As adolescence advances, "heavy petting" may take the place of these earlier relationships, but the boy feels that he has proved his manhood, he is "in the know," though his actual knowledge may still be on a very childish level.

We must remember that in spite of what our wishes may have been on the subject, the "double standard" of sex morality has always existed in our civilization. The doctrine of "male necessity," that the man needs intercourse at more or less frequent intervals to enable him to control himself and to keep healthy, is still current, and probably few boys escape coming in contact with it. That other curious doctrine, that women are divided into two classes, the "pure" and virtuous, who have no need for sex expression, and the others who are "highly sexed" and apparently created for man's pleasure, is still extant also, and, as we have seen, probably has its rise in the child's first experience with sex, when he is made to feel that it is his "lower nature," and not to be thought of in connection with "good" women. There is no question that many boys still acquire this attitude. Boys are told by older boys or men that when they find a girl whom they really love they will not want to have sex relations with her, at least not until marriage. Eighteen-year-old Mariat, a youthful Don Juan, who had had sex relations

with many girls, devoutly believing that it was the "course of nature," but had never fancied himself in love, used to sit in the office and muse about his ideal girl, "beautiful and good, and she'll make a man of me; I'll set her up on a pedestal and worship her, but I'll never touch her."

Most boys, however, do have experience of what their elders disrespectfully call "calf love." As stated above, it is the group or gang that has most influence with the boy at this period, and it is usually their ideals and practices that have most effect upon him. He must do what all the boys are doing, wear whatever is with them the fad of the moment, conform as nearly as possible to the standards of the group. Great is his bitterness if for poverty or any other reason he cannot do so. He will twist and turn, lie, and sometimes even steal, in order to avoid being different. The home begins to lose its hold upon him; he becomes secretive about his affairs, resents the counsel or curiosity of his women folk, fears his father's interference in what he regards as none of his business. He is especially awkward and easily embarrassed by the familiarity of his women folk; to be kissed publicly—and often privately—by mother or aunt puts him in an agony of shame, and he will go round the block to avoid meeting his female relatives. At the same time he is re-evaluating his home from the standpoint of his newer knowl-

edge of human relationships. It is a jolly place where he can bring his friends or which he can use as the base of operations for his far-flung schemes, or it is a place where he is teased, nagged, and misunderstood. He may react by becoming sullen and resentful, or he may become impudent, openly defiant and disobedient. Running away from home and truancy from school increase markedly with the advent of puberty, as do all kinds of difficulties of adjustment. Individual peculiarities develop, and the boy's personality begins to take on some of the characteristics that it will bear throughout life.

Though he is embarrassed by his mother and rude to his sisters, this does not mean that he is not extremely conscious of the presence of the opposite sex in the world. His very indifference or rudeness means that he is thinking differently about girls than formerly. Other fellows' sisters are beginning to attract his attention, and he engages in stunts, showing-off, and various feats designed to impress them, though he may make no direct advances to them as yet. Or he may choose some highly unsuitable girl or older woman and make her the center of his boyish dreams, sending her presents and writing her verses, perhaps secretly. If his infatuation is found out and he is teased, or, worse still, opposed and perhaps punished, his self-respect suffers acutely and his whole future adjustment may be affected. The parents of a

young adolescent boy do well to learn to wink at many things.

But the flood of feelings, emotions, and new attitudes let loose by the tides of puberty are by no means confined in narrow sex channels. From the boy's standpoint the one important fact is that he is growing up. He is no longer a child with a restricted view of life and its possibilities; the world with all its various aspects of work, of sports, of business, of politics, even of crime and sordidness, opens upon him. He has known these things before, but they were the concerns of the grown-ups, with little meaning for him; now they have become of tremendous importance. He forms opinions and defends them hotly; he decides to do one thing today and another tomorrow; he undertakes things that he cannot finish and forgets his plans of yesterday when something new comes along. He is enamored of adventure, and would give almost anything he possesses to join Byrd's expedition or to go on a round-the-world flight. If he reads, it is books of adventure, and the modern penny dreadful, like *Gangland* and *Underworld Stories*. He frequents movies that depict struggles and adventures, and becomes familiar with bootlegging, "dope" peddling, and the screen heroine who battles for her virtue with the adventurous villain. In short, he takes in all the vulgarities, the silly pretenses, and the melancholy parodies of our

machine-made civilization. The normal boy in a good environment may pass through this stage and acquire an immunity to the things that attract him now, just as his father outgrew the banalities of his early adolescence; but we do well to provide for his contacts with the less lurid side of life and to see that it is made attractive for him.

We have seen that to primitive peoples puberty was a religious crisis, a time when the individual was especially near to the unseen forces of the spirit world, and that many of the puberty ceremonies were designed to secure his proper rapport with it. Throughout history the great religions of the world have pursued a similar course, have striven to bring the boy into contact with spiritual things and to secure his formal induction into the fellowship of the elect. Confirmation or formal acceptance into the Church still takes place around the time of puberty, and statistics show that the majority of religious conversions and voluntary entrance into church membership take place during early and middle adolescence. The emotions that flood the adolescent soul are altruistic, directed outward, yearning to give themselves and to fasten upon an object worthy of their devotion. Religion has a unique opportunity to catch and focus them upon the higher life of altruism and unselfish activity in the service of a high ideal. It is greatly to be regretted that in so many in-

stances organized religion has been unable to keep its hold upon the young.

One other point perhaps needs to be stressed, and that is, though we may describe the behavior of the average boy, there are many boys who are not average. It is hard to strike an average for puberty itself: some boys are pubescent at twelve, others not till eighteen. Intellectual development does not by any means depend upon physical development, and Johnny in the eighth grade may be six feet tall and emotionally quite mature, while Tommy, about to graduate from high school, is still a little boy in physical and emotional development. And there are many boys whose development does not follow a normal course or is complicated by physical, mental, and emotional factors. We will glance at some of these in the next chapter.

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Chapter III

Deficiencies and Abnormalities

Superstitions concerning puberty—Survey of personality assets and liabilities—The question of intelligence—Mental defect, degrees and concomitants—The moron problem—The dull and backward—The special disabilities—Inability to learn to read—Speech defects—Defects in the field of personality—Prevalence of nervous defects—Depression, hysteria, unstable personalities—Manic-depressive psychosis—Dementia præcox—Two types developing in adolescence—Paranoia—Epilepsy—The "psychopathic personality."

Among the many superstitions concerning puberty which still flourish is the one which holds that the boy who has been backward or nervous as a child will outgrow these conditions and become bright and healthy when the "magical changes" of puberty supervene. Instead, it more frequently happens that the physical stress of puberty, together with the social demands that begin to crowd upon the young adolescent, bring to light disabilities and deficiencies that had seemed of little consequence in the child. Johnnie at ten may lisp or stammer,

may get on poorly in school, may complain that the other boys have it in for him; but he is still a little boy, and the parents fondly expect him to outgrow his difficulties; but John at sixteen, with down on his lip and his voice changing, is very noticeable when he stammers, or is still in the seventh grade, or sulks at home instead of joining the neighborhood ball game.

In order to understand the adolescent youth and to best provide for his future we must face the fact that there are many boys who are unable to profit from a régime suitable for their more normal brothers. We have already said that there is no special physical disability accompanying the changes of puberty, aside from the fact that the rapid growth of organs induces a special susceptibility to fatigue, so that the boy has a right to feel lazy. There are, however, certain physical conditions that accompany nervous or mental illnesses, and which may direct attention away from the real disability, which is apt to involve the entire personality. Illustrations of such conditions are the general breakdown which may accompany the development of epilepsy or dementia præcox, and the tuberculous condition which is often a corollary of the latter mental illness. A boy may be treated for several years for a physical breakdown, the symptoms being now this and now that, before the real nature of his difficulty becomes apparent. The normal youth is not a sickly crea-

ture; he is far more apt to disregard his bodily feelings than he is to complain about them.

In a survey of the personality assets and liabilities of our adolescent boy, we will need to consider first of all perhaps his native endowment. In the last twenty years we have heard a great deal about human intelligence. First we were told that a vast number of people were of low intelligence, and nearly all human frailties, including criminal acts, were attributed to a lack of intelligence. We were warned that the feeble-minded were increasing so fast that they would soon crowd out the more intelligent unless drastic measures were taken to curb their increase. Human efficiency was conceived as stratified in certain levels on the basis of intelligence. The "I Q" became a magic expression which at once put a boy into his place and marked out his future progress. But gradually we began to get our bearings and to realize that intelligence is only one aspect of that inconceivably complex thing, the human personality, and that intelligence itself has many aspects. Aside from the question of special abilities and disabilities, there is the question of intellectual function and the factors upon which function depends. Though it is pretty well established that the level to which any individual intelligence can develop is determined before birth—barring accidents or illnesses involving the nervous system—we have no means of know-

ing how many people fail to reach this maximum development. It is probable that most of us fall short of the level we might have attained under proper stimulation and guidance in childhood. And the efficiency of intelligence at any level depends upon how that intelligence works: the "happy little moron," doing his simple tasks to the best of his ability, undisturbed by worries and perplexities, may fill his niche in life effectively, while the man of high native intelligence may be so utterly unable to use it that he spends his life in a mental hospital.

By native endowment, then, we mean the general level of intelligence which, under ordinary circumstances, the boy is capable of attaining, together with abilities or disabilities in certain fields. All these psychology can now measure with a fair degree of accuracy, when due allowance is made for the complicating factors mentioned above. Among human beings intelligence varies from almost nothing up to genius, but the great majority possess similar endowments and can be thought of as of "average" ability. We know now that this level is not as high as was formerly believed. The average boy can complete high school, but he will not lead his class, and he is likely to have considerable difficulty with the subjects involving mathematics. However, in this chapter we are specially concerned with those so far below the average that they can never be expected to grasp the

standards or do the mental tasks of adults. These people are known as mental defectives or feeble-minded, and it is customary to divide them into three groups: idiots, who are never able to learn to talk and whose intelligence does not develop above two years as measured by "mental tests"; imbeciles, who are unable to learn to read unless to call off a few words, and who do not develop above seven; and morons, whose scholastic ability is measured by the fourth grade, and who seldom develop much above ten. Idiots are never school problems, but are often very great problems to the parents, who cannot believe that they are actually incapable of development. Idiocy is often accompanied by physical defects, and much money may be spent in the vain hope that when these defects are corrected the child's intelligence will be normal; but the defect is in the nervous system itself and cannot be cured by any means that we now know. A few years ago the writer was asked to see a boy of eighteen in a mid-western city. He had been blind since a few weeks of age, and his parents were convinced that all his difficulties were due to that fact. They had spent all they had upon treatment, dragging him about to mental healers and even to fortune tellers, refusing to believe the physicians who told them that there was nothing to be done. He had never learned to talk, but was tidy in habits and could feed himself with a spoon. He sat

quietly all day and smiled foolishly when spoken to. Such children are much better off in an institution, where nurses know how to care for them and where they are almost invariably as happy as they can be made.

It is often asserted that cretinism, a condition caused by a deficiency in the thyroid gland, can be cured by glandular therapy, and the child who started life as an idiot become a normal personality. But this is true only within limits: if the condition is slight it can be cured, but the writer has never yet seen an idiot of any description completely normalized, nor read any authentic account of such an occurrence. Cretinism is characterized by a dwarfish stature, thickened skin, coarse and scanty hair, old and wizened features. The condition is now usually recognized in infancy, and treatment instituted early improves the physical condition greatly, but it must be begun early and continued to obtain this result.

Another condition usually accompanied by idiocy is known as mongolism. The "mongolian" child is so-called because he has the facial features, especially the slanting eyes, of the yellow race. He is short and squat, with a flattened nose and furrowed tongue. He is monkey-like and cunning as a little fellow, sitting tailor fashion, and may be active and playful after a fashion; he is nearly always meddlesome and imitative; but as he grows older he becomes difficult to care for at home.

The mongolian seldom lives to any age, as he is extremely susceptible to respiratory infections, and measles or pneumonia are almost always fatal to him. Sometimes the condition is less pronounced, when it is known as mongoloid; these cases may develop to the mental age of six or seven, but are never of normal intelligence. Treatment may improve their physical condition and make them appear more alert and intelligent, but careful study usually fails to reveal any actual increase in mental ability. However, research on the cause and treatment of mongolism is going forward all the time, and it may be in the future we will actually be able to do something for it.

Sometimes the idiot is the victim of congenital syphilis, or an injury at or before birth may result in a profound degree of mental defect. On the other hand, sometimes he has a good body and may even be good-looking. In this case it is much more difficult for the parents to believe there is nothing to be done except to keep the boy as comfortable and happy as possible, but that is the best advice that modern medicine has to offer.

The imbecile boy is more of a problem when he reaches adolescence. He is apt vaguely to sense his inferiority and to try to imitate his better endowed brothers, with disastrous results. His comprehension and judgment are so poor that he is easily led into delinquency, and he is almost invariably apprehended. Then, too, he is the butt

of jokes and the victim of tricks until his life becomes a tragedy. Most imbeciles are better off in the institutions, where they are taught work suited to their abilities and protected from exploitation. The school can do little for a child of this level, even in the special class; he can learn only the simpler tasks, though he can often do them well if his limitations are kept in mind. Nor is he any more prone of his own accord to get into trouble than his brighter brothers.

But it is the moron boy who constitutes our greatest problem among mental defectives. In the majority of instances he is not noticeably different from his more normal fellows; he may be well set up, good-looking, and alert in manner; though he is incapable of really grasping the school subjects beyond the fourth grade, he may get farther by reason of his good memory, or because the school's policy is to pass him on. Perley C—— was a sixteen-year-old who had managed by dint of his mother's drilling and his father's position on the school board to get into junior high school. Perley could repeat his history and civics lesson word for word, but he could not do long division or write a decent English sentence. Yet his parents felt that it was the principal's unfair discrimination which kept him out of senior high school. The moron's memory is his greatest asset, and it is often difficult to convince the casual observer that his other abilities

are those of a child. If he has a pleasant disposition and can talk fairly glibly he may deceive even better judges. Henry M—— was sent for examination preliminary to treatment by a social worker who was much interested in him and who felt that physical disabilities were at the bottom of his trouble. Henry was eighteen, partially blind, with a pathetic manner and a deprecating little smile; he talked at length of his difficulties and of his disappointment in not being able to go to college and become an engineer; "but with these eyes, you know"—he rolled them up and shrugged his shoulders with a pathetic little gesture. Henry did indeed arouse one's sympathies, and the social worker refused to take the doctor's report that his physical condition was good but that his mental age was around nine years.

It must never be forgotten that the feeble-minded differ in personality and in ability to use what intelligence they possess just as the rest of us do. Seldom can a moron boy be dealt with on the basis of his intelligence alone. He has his ambitions and interests, his hopes and fears, though they are limited by his poor intelligence. To herd all of them into a group and deal with them as if they were incapable of feeling is an inhuman policy. Morons often feel their lack quite keenly, and many of their personality traits grow up in relation to it. The boy who early learns that he cannot compete with his brothers in

the intellectual field may react by developing such unpleasant traits as stubbornness, sullenness, quarrelsomeness or boastfulness; he may put himself forward in every way to gain attention, even committing delinquencies; or he may become shy, withdrawn, and make no effort to do even as much as he can. Behind these outward traits there lurks the child that he will forever be, and it is this we must seek for and appeal to in our dealings with him. The average moron, if properly trained through childhood and adolescence, is not a trouble maker. If he fails to find work suited to his meager abilities, if he is compelled to shift for himself and he is denied supervision and protection, society has only itself to thank when he becomes delinquent or engages in criminal activities.

Below the average in intelligence and yet not actually feeble-minded is a large group of the dull and backward. Here we have a more difficult situation than ever. In childhood the boy progresses slowly, and as he grows older it becomes increasingly difficult for him to keep up to grade in his school work. When puberty is passed, he is apt to feel himself a man, and to chafe at being kept at school tasks which have no meaning for him and in which he is destined to fail. A great many of our youthful delinquents come from this intelligence group. Their delinquency is a reaction against the boredom of school

and an expression of the restlessness and the desire for adventure which are normal to all youth. These boys are never high-school material, but they occasionally get into high school, and constitute an exceedingly difficult problem. Before the days of mental measurement they were apt to be thought idlers and wastrels and severely dealt with. Now we can understand their conduct in terms of their mental age, and the parents become the problem. If they are cultured and wealthy, they wish their son to follow their footsteps; if they have had few advantages themselves, they insist upon the boy's becoming what they would have liked to be. As a rule, the chief interest of these boys lies in manual work, and they excel in the simpler skilled trades. Occasionally they have special abilities, such as in music, drawing, or other forms of art, as dancing or dramatics, or mechanical abilities; they may even have special ability in language or number, though their accomplishments in all these fields are limited by their poor general intelligence. It is probable that the cases of striking specialized ability in apparent defectives, of which we hear occasionally, are not cases of mental defect, but of mental disease. However, it is certainly true, as Dr. Augusta Bronner[1] remarks, that intensive study often reveals certain abilities and lines of inter-

[1] THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SPECIAL ABILITIES AND DISABILITIES. See reference at end of chapter.

est in these children which should be turned to account in their training. When we learn to do this, the burden of poverty and crime in our society will be materially lessened.

Again, we occasionally find the boy who is backward and develops slowly, but whose development continues so that in maturity we find him of average intelligence. John B—— was a case of this sort. He was first studied at fourteen, when he was struggling with the seventh grade and was thought by his teachers to be incapable of high-school work. He was growing fast, was lazy and indifferent, bored with school and refusing to do his home work. Moreover, there was friction between him and his parents, jealousy of an older brother, and a generally unhappy home situation. He was more than a year retarded, but he was encouraged to work a little harder, and the intelligent parents coöperated in making things easier at home. John was followed for five years; he continued to develop during all that time, slowly but steadily, graduating from high school at nineteen and doing good average work.

Most interesting of all the cases of mental deficiency are the special disabilities. In the last few years we have come to realize that many of the children we have considered feeble-minded are really cases of special disabilities; they are handicapped by an inability to make proper

reactions in certain fields, and are thus unable to learn. At the present time it would appear that the most frequent of these disabilities is the inability to learn to recognize letters, figures, and words, which results in the child's inability to learn to read. There are a number of theories regarding the cause of this condition, which probably lies in some defect in the brain itself; but there is no doubt about the result, and the indication at present is that there are a large number of children in our public schools, considered backward or otherwise deficient, who are victims of an actual inability to learn to recognize written or printed material. The condition exists, of course, in varying degrees; when a child is intelligent, with plenty of determination and perseverance, and especially when he is in a good home environment, he may be able to overcome his handicap sufficiently to enable him to finish school and even enter a profession; but the defect remains. The writer is acquainted with a professional man whose poor spelling and general inability to handle words is the joke of his friends; anything he writes has to be carefully gone over by his wife. Although he reads German and French as well as English, he reads very slowly in any language, being especially bothered by a tendency to reverse the letters. As a child it took him three years to learn to read, and it was only by dint of much tutoring and special teaching that he

was finally able to do so. He has a fine intelligence and has succeeded in spite of his handicap.

Most children of this type are not so fortunate. Aubrey C—— at fourteen was struggling to hold his own in the sixth grade of a private school, but with so little success that the principal wrote his father he would have to be removed. The father wrote the boy a sharp letter, to which the lad reacted by running away. When found, he was brought for study, the parents feeling sure something was wrong with him. But Aubrey did well on intelligence tests, except that he read very poorly, could spell only the simplest words and occasionally reversed letters in them; he seemed to have a poor memory for words and figures. Asked to reproduce some designs he had seen for ten seconds, he drew the difficult one but drew it upside down and reversed. He wrote with his right hand, but when we insisted that he try writing with his left hand promptly wrote his name backward. This tendency to reversal of words and letters, known as mirror reading and writing, occurs in a considerable number of cases of reading disability and is often associated with left-handedness. In this connection we may remark that there is every evidence that it may be a serious thing to train a child who is naturally left-handed to right-handedness. Speech disorders, especially stammering, often develop in connection with such training, as well

as the difficulties in reading and writing noted above.

Special training for children who have these special disabilities is indicated, and the results are sometimes little short of marvelous. Dr. Phyllis Blanchard[2] tells the story of a boy who was brought to a Child Guidance clinic at the age of thirteen. He had never been able to learn to read properly and had been in an opportunity class with all the educational misfits in the school since he was ten. Examination disclosed an intelligent lad but with marked inability to recognize printed or written material. He was placed where he could have individual attention and given intensive training, with the result that he graduated from high school and is now in his second year at college.

Not all children, of course, are intelligent enough to profit so greatly from special teaching, but if they are the possessors of average intelligence they can usually be enabled to overcome the difficulty well enough to serve the purpose of the school.

Another very painful disability lies in the field of oral speech. Surveys have shown that there are approximately one million cases of speech defect in the school population of the United States, the majority being stammerers. Everyone knows that it is painful to listen to a stammerer,

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[2] Reported to the author in a private conversation. This case was reported in *Mental Hygiene* for Oct., 1928.

but few people realize what a well of loneliness and misery life is for him. His affliction cuts him off from many activities dear to the heart of boyhood, and school success is equally difficult. If his disability is allowed for and he is permitted to finish school, the question of making a living is again an almost unsurmountable obstacle. It is no wonder the stammerer becomes shut-in, morose, and extremely sensitive; that he usually withdraws from society and lives his life as inconspicuously as possible.

Stammering or stuttering may take many forms; perhaps the one least well known to the average parent or teacher is that known as "silent stammering." The afflicted person may not stammer at all in talking, but is acutely conscious of his inability to say certain words or make certain sounds; he strives to find substitutes that he can say, and this slows up his speech so much that he may impress his associates as inattentive, slow, or dull. Sometimes the words he finds himself able to use are scarcely appropriate to the situation, so that he seems to be talking at cross purposes or contradicts himself. Children of this type are frequently classed as "queer," "dumb," or "silly," and as they grow older withdraw more and more into themselves and become known as silent persons.[3]

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[3] For a graphic account of the inner life and the mental struggles of a stammerer, read BECAUSE I STUTTER, by Wendell Johnson.

Again there are many theories as to the cause of stammering, and numerous widely advertised "cures," especially in "schools" or "institutes." Most of these are entirely worthless, and some do much harm. Our more progressive states are organizing special training for those suffering from nervous speech disorders in the public schools, but the carrying out of any extensive program awaits the development of a specially trained teaching force. That stammering can be cured, not by any unusual procedure, but by the use of physical and mental hygiene combined with special training of the speech itself, has been demonstrated beyond a doubt.

However, we know today that defects and disabilities in the intellectual field are few compared to those of personality. Perhaps no other period of life puts so great a strain upon the organism as adolescence, and so we find developing at this time a goodly number of the disorders which are variously known as nervous, mental, or personality breakdowns. Even where there is no definite break, the psychiatrist can often see the beginnings of conditions which do not come to full bloom until later in life.

A vast deal of superstition and ignorance still attaches to the idea of nervous or mental illness. We somehow have the idea that it is a disgrace and that it ought to be kept in the dark; the mental hospital is still regarded

with fear and attacked with fury by people who ought to know better. There is today scarcely a family that escapes having some of its members suffer from some form of nervous or mental illness, and it is a well known fact that there are more beds in the mental hospitals of this country than there are in all the other hospitals combined. Even though our soldiers were examined both physically and mentally and the unfit weeded out, there are today in the government hospitals thousands of men in whom the war brought to light nervous conditions which have incapacitated them for a shorter or longer period; and other thousands are being cared for outside the hospitals, unable to find their places as self-supporting and responsible human beings. The only ray of hope that such a situation holds is the probability that many of these cases could have been saved to happy and successful lives if we had been able to find them in childhood or adolescence, and could have supplied the help and guidance they needed to enable them to reach a healthy maturity.

Dr. Ernest Jones[4] long ago pointed out that infancy, or the first five or six years of life, and adolescence have much in common; in many respects adolescence repeats, on its own level, the development of infancy. Many times traits and habits which flourished then sink out of

[4] "Some Problems of Adolescence," *British Journal of Psychology,* Vol. 13, 1922.

sight in childhood, only to reappear in a different guise when puberty is reached. And the boy who was excessively fearful as a little fellow, unusually shy or supersensitive, is the one in whom these traits will cause most difficulty in adolescence. Trying to cure a boy of oversensitiveness by "kidding" or "ragging" him, by forcing him into situations where he must display his weakness with the idea that he should conquer it, are little else than barbaric forms of torture. Oversensitiveness, if it has existed throughout the boy's life, is a rather serious condition, and we find it at the bottom of several of the more serious mental disorders. Indeed, we can say in general that any child who shows marked supersensitiveness and a tendency to over-react to stimulation needs careful handling if he is to avoid the development of a neurosis or psychosis in later life.

Depressions also, usually accompanied by fear and anxiety, are very common among adolescent boys, and occasionally we are startled by a youthful suicide. In the majority of cases the fear and anxiety can be allayed and the depression overcome when the boy can discuss its cause with an understanding adult, or when he discovers that the things that are troubling him are common to most boys of his age. But sometimes it is a longer process. George F—— was a bright, good-looking Hungarian boy of seventeen, just entering college with seem-

ingly smooth sailing ahead of him. But George was obsessed by the idea of his unpopularity. He could not get dates with the girls; he was not bidden into a fraternity; he had never been a member of a gang or neighborhood group, and seemed unable to keep friendships with boys. In high school he had led his classes and taken honors, and been captain of cadets in his junior year, but in his senior year he had fallen down badly because he spent most of his time trying to learn how to be popular. He checked up on his own faults and peculiarities, asked his teachers and fellow students to help him, and read everything he could find upon personality development. He finally became convinced that he was doomed to a life of failure and friendlessness and decided upon suicide. At this juncture a watchful teacher induced him to go to a psychiatrist, but it was many months before George was able to overcome his obsession and begin to make normal contacts.

Hysteria is one of the major neuroses, and though not so frequently found among boys as girls, yet there are many adolescent boys who develop hysterical conditions. The mechanism of hysteria is "conversion"; that is, an idea which is painful or unacceptable to the personality is repressed or forgotten but is not lost, for it expresses itself as a bodily symptom. The physical disability then serves the purpose of protecting the personality against

some act it does not wish to perform, or of getting it out of a painful situation. The medical literature of the World War is full of examples of hysterical conversion. Soldiers became blind, deaf, mute, or paralyzed, not as a result of "shell shock," as it was thought at first, but of fear. There was no physical cause for the blindness or other conditions, and no physical treatment was of any effect. As long as the soldier continued blind or mute or paralyzed, he could not return to the trenches and he could save his self-respect.

Hysterical attacks sometimes take the form of heart attacks, of attacks of indigestion, of fainting, or of actual convulsions. When the latter occurs they are often confused with epileptic seizures, but there are some distinguishing marks, as will be seen later.

Thomas B—— was a fifteen-year-old who had always been "nervous." As a child he could never attend school regularly, because he was always getting sick. He had severe attacks of asthma, nervous headaches, indigestion. He was brought to the clinic by his father because he had run away from home repeatedly, and when punished had developed fainting spells. Thomas proved a likable boy and fairly intelligent, and he had no attacks while under observation. After a while, however, he ran away from the Detention Home and hitch-hiked to the home of his grandmother fifty miles away. A social worker who

knew him well was sent to bring him back. When Thomas saw her he became very nervous, shaking and crying and declaring he could never return. His grandmother was fearful that he would have a heart attack and hovered over him with admonitions and suggestions. Suddenly the boy became very pale, began to gasp, and all at once collapsed in apparently a dead faint. A physician was called and gave him a hypodermic injection; his father arrived and began to make plans to take him to the hospital, and still he continued fainting. Then the social worker remarked quietly that she was sure he did not need to go to the hospital, and that they must hurry or they would miss their train. At this Thomas stirred faintly, and the social worker continued to talk about the train trip, beginning meanwhile to put on her wraps. Suddenly Thomas sat up: "I'll go if you're going on the train," he said, "but I won't go in any old automobile." Like so many modern children, Thomas had traveled mostly by auto, and he was fascinated by trains.

It must not be thought that attacks like Thomas's are simulated or pretended, though occasionally they may be more or less under the boy's control. More often than not he is their helpless victim, and neither he nor his parents can find the cause that is producing them. Always they serve a purpose: they are a defense or a pro-

tection, a disguise of motives and ideas which in this way find symbolic satisfaction.

Involving a similar mechanism are the hysterical "fugues" or "amnesias," in which there is a complete splitting of the personality, so that the boy may do things while in this state of which he is completely unaware at other times. Daniel C—— began disappearing from home shortly after he graduated from high school at eighteen. He would be gone for several days and return dirty and unkempt and totally unable to tell where he had been or what he had been doing. His parents were at first very angry with him and believed he had gotten into bad company; to effect his reformation he was sent into the navy. After three months Daniel disappeared and was not heard of for six weeks, when he turned himself in at a naval base a thousand miles from where he had been stationed. He gave no explanation of his conduct and was punished as a deserter. After he was restored to duty he went on for several months, when he again disappeared and was found wandering in old Mexico, in an interior province, dazed and in a wretched condition. He was then sent to the government hospital, where he made a good recovery, but it was found that he had undergone a personality change and was much less alert and intelligent than formerly.

Sometimes hysterical attacks take the form of trances.

James H—— began having peculiar experiences when he was about sixteen. He seemed to be dreaming and to be somewhere else and doing different things even while walking on the street or playing a game. He joined the army later, hoping the change of scene and occupation would benefit him, but instead he grew worse. He began to feel as if he left his body and had strange adventures, and would return to find his body where he had left it. He even used to see it lying on the bed or sitting in a chair and wonder how he would get back into it. James told no one of these experiences, until finally he became so alarmed that he sought the doctor and was sent to the hospital. Here, with the help of a physician, he began to understand the meaning of his strange experiences, and finally became able to go out and take up life "on his own." He had not completely gotten rid of the "trances," but he was no longer afraid of them.

When we come to the actual psychoses, we find two great groups of them which either develop or show premonitory signs in adolescence, the manic-depressive group and that known as dementia præcox. The former is characterized by alternating periods of elation and depression and usually occurs in the boy who has always been high-strung and emotional, overactive, and inclined to do everything to excess.

Gaylord M—— was the child of divorced parents and

during childhood was tossed about from one relative to another. When his father remarried and took him home Gaylord was eleven, a bright little fellow who did well in school and was popular with teachers and pupils alike. But at thirteen he began to slump. He felt tired and depressed, could not study, and felt life was not worth living. His father, himself an active, bustling type, kept urging Gaylord to "snap out of it," but it was several months before he could force himself again to take part in the usual boyish activities. Gradually he began to be overactive, disobedient, and a truant from school. The father now sent him to a summer resort, thinking that work and earning his way would be good for him. Here Gaylord, at fourteen, had a wild time, learning to drink and act the clown at grown-up parties, where he was petted and made much of by the young women. When he returned to his home town and to school he could not settle down, left school to loaf around the pool halls, and finally ran away with two other boys, much his inferiors in intelligence and social standing. They were found a few weeks later, having "ridden the bumpers" to a distant city, where they were arrested for vagrancy and held in jail for several weeks. During the next two years Gaylord's behavior was not understood by his parents or the school: he was by turns irritable and grouchy, loud and quarrelsome, a truant or a trouble-maker at school, and

quiet, dreamy, uninterested in his studies or in outside activities, spending much of his time at home in sleep. When he was sixteen the father in desperation told him he was going to send him to the reform school, but the boy took things in his own hands, ran away, and joined the navy. He was tall and well developed, bright and good-looking, and had no trouble in passing for eighteen. For several months he got on well, was popular with officers and men, and began to think that his troubles were over; then gradually he began to lose interest in his duties, felt tired and depressed, and soon came to the attention of the ship's doctor, who recognized his condition and sent him to the hospital. Gaylord was now seventeen; he was greatly depressed for months, much of the time unable to speak, even unable to feed or dress himself. As usually happens, the depression was followed by a manic attack, in which he was greatly excited and incessantly active; finally he quieted down and became fairly normal, showing himself to be fundamentally a fine and decent fellow. He could not, however, hold this level for a great while, and there followed other attacks of both excitements and depression, though of milder degree. A great deal of work was done with him, but it was not until after five years of hospital residence and supervised parole that he was able to attempt life on his own in the community.

The manic-depressive is always an unstable personality, easily thrown off his balance by the stresses and strains of life. Very commonly we find him the child whose home has failed to give him the love and security that is every child's birthright. He fails to get a secure footing in life because he has never had a foothold in anyone's affections. Indeed, some authorities contend that the manic-depressive psychosis never develops upon any other basis. Be that as it may, he is always a creature of moods and changing personality, thoughtless, selfish, and irresponsible in one mood, and penitent, self-abasing, or self-accusatory in another. Often these alternate with moods in which he is pleasant, friendly, and attractive, and a thoroughly likable fellow.

There are other cases whose predominant mood is one of depression. They are irritable and fault-finding, the "gloomy Guses" of the world, full of fears and forebodings. Such a boy, especially under the influence of alcohol, may suddenly become wildly excited and commit all sorts of foolish or delinquent acts. And there are the "hypo-manic" personalities, who are overactive and overtalkative, sometimes gay, lively, and attractive, sometimes pests and bores. These boys may have unexplained depressions, or fearful fits of blues at slight provocation. They do not so often break down into actual psychoses, but are apt to lead irregular and poorly adjusted lives.

In the actual manic-depressive psychosis there are apt to be recurring attacks; sometimes there are long intervals of normal behavior, sometimes the attacks recur at frequent intervals. It must not be forgotten that in the depression there is always danger of suicide, while in the manic attack criminal acts may be committed. For this reason it is often unwise to attempt to care for the boy at home. He should always be placed under the care of a competent psychiatrist, and his instructions obeyed.

Though there are many theories, we do not know a great deal yet about the cause of the manic-depressive psychosis. We do know that, like most other nervous conditions, it does not occur out of a clear sky. The child who is overactive and excitable, given to uncontrollable outbursts of temper or passion, showing poor judgment concerning himself or his relation to others, should not be completely let alone to outgrow his difficulties, or worse yet, be punished undiscriminatingly. Occasions for overstimulation, whether competitive games, exciting spectacles, or adult contacts, should be avoided. Plenty of rest and proper food should be provided; sometimes the physician can prescribe medical treatment that helps to slow down the too active physical processes. But whatever else is done, we should see to it that the boy has plenty of outlets for his energy—things to make and to do in which he is really interested, not just set tasks pre-

scribed for him by the home and the school—and above all his emotional life should be cultivated. He should be loved and taught to love in return—not sentimentally, but wisely and patiently—that he may feel himself worth while to someone, and gain back the security in life which, in these cases, is always unconsciously felt to be lost.

But the cases of manic-depressive psychoses are few compared with those of dementia præcox. This condition was formerly known as "adolescent insanity" and was thought to be in some way connected with the developmental processes of youth. The term is now usually applied to cover a group of symptoms, perhaps better called "schizophrenia," and developing even late in life in response to certain conditions of undue stress or strain. But some of us feel that we still have need of the concept of dementia præcox as a mental disorder showing itself in adolescence or even earlier, and involving, as Dr. William A. White has so well expressed it, profound defects of biological adjustment. The writer believes that there are two types of the disease showing themselves during adolescence, and developing in youths whose childhood has been marked by certain personality traits more or less easily recognized. The first is the classical type which every psychiatrist knows and every textbook describes: the precocious child, full of intellectual promise, but suf-

fering a breakdown in adolescence, and scarcely ever thereafter able to live his life on the level promised in his childhood. This child is often called superior because of his intellectual attainments, but this is misleading. The superior child is so in all fields; he is well developed physically, is tall and strong for his age; he is emotionally well balanced; his judgment, his interests, and his outlook on life are more mature than the average of his associates. But the precocious child may be and often is inferior physically or of delicate physique, and he is almost invariably designated "nervous." Emotionally he is infantile, clinging to the protection of home and parents, is oversensitive, shy, and withdrawn, making poor contacts with other children. But intellectually he is ahead of his age, and both his parents and the school are apt to push him, expecting great things of him in maturity.

Gene T—— was a boy of this type. He was the only child of a widowed mother, who poured all her affection upon him. He was a very bright child, but very nervous, suffering from all kinds of illnesses and losing much time in school, but his mother studied with him, and he kept ahead of his classes. He was not at home with other children, and loved to wander in the woods communing with nature, as he expressed it. He grew into a dreamy, inactive youth, though he held his own in college until his sophomore year. He then began to have ideas that

his instructors and fellow students were mistreating him, calling him names and plotting to get him out of college. A sharp breakdown followed soon, in which he had to be confined in a mental hospital, and from which he has never fully recovered. Could this outcome have been prevented? We have reason to believe that it could. Such cases are "psychogenic," developing on the basis of mental conflicts and wrong emotional habits and attitudes. Such children undoubtedly are by nature more prone to form wrong habits of thought and feeling, but in addition to that there is the tendency for the mental energy to confine itself too closely to the intellectual field. In such a boy energy turns inward, it is used up in thought and fantasy; and instead of learning to be at home in the real world he creates a world of his own where things are to his liking. As he grows older and the demands of reality become more severe, he shrinks more and more into himself, until he is no longer able to adjust himself to life as it is lived today. Finally even books and study are too much for him, and he abandons all attempts at adjustment. The problem of prevention is largely one of a more normal distribution of energy. Instead of encouraging these precocious intellectual manifestations, as so often happens, instead of pushing him in school and expecting brilliant performance from him, we should do just the opposite: encourage the acquisition of

a wide range of interests, foster his participation in games and sports, and especially help him to make social contacts. Outside reality must be made more interesting to him than his inner world. If his school work suffers in the process, let it do so: certainly it is better to have him develop into a normal, even though mediocre, manhood than to have him spend his maturity in a mental hospital.

In distinction to the psychogenic type of præcox, which we believe to be the result of wrong handling of a nervous child, is the constitutional type. Here, instead of brilliant intelligence, we have what often appears intellectual dullness or stupidity: the child learns with difficulty, or may even appear incapable of learning in school. But he is not merely dull or backward, and in intelligence tests may score at age or above, though he is incapable of bringing his intelligence to bear upon the everyday problems of adjustment. He is "different" from his earliest childhood, completely self-centered, creating his own rôle in life and apparently incapable of understanding the social milieu into which he is born.

Godfrey L——, at twenty-one, is a classical example. Godfrey was the elder of two children, and was always a riddle to his parents. He was considered "nervous" because of his peculiarities, though he developed sturdily enough. His sister was two years younger, but he never played with her, and indeed was so inconsiderate that

the mother never dared leave them alone together. He was cruel to animals also, in a detached sort of way, without any realization, apparently, of what pain meant to them. As his home was on a ranch, the parents felt that he might improve by contact with other children, and moved to town when he was six to enter him in school. But things were no better; Godfrey could not be induced to play with the children, spending recess time in a corner of the yard playing with strings or stones, or sometimes bugs and worms. If the other children approached he was likely to throw his stones at them and run away. In school he learned nothing, and his behavior was like that of a feeble-minded child; so he was placed in the special class, where after a while he surprised his teacher by being able to read, though he made no progress in the other subjects.

At home the parents were loath to accept the school's verdict: he could talk intelligently on many subjects, and was fond of heated argument. To the parents he did not appear dull, though he continued to live his own life, with no regard for the family's wishes or convenience. When Godfrey was fourteen intelligence tests were introduced in the school, and a testing expert examined him and found him rating almost at age. She was rightly critical of the school and the parents for permitting a child of this intellectual caliber to stagnate for years in a

class for subnormals, and advised that he be placed in junior high school and every effort made to stimulate him to get to work. Her advice was followed, and Godfrey survived under this régime just six weeks; then he began to talk foolishly, swear loudly at his teachers, and attacked one of them who corrected him. He became so excited that he had to be placed in a mental hospital, where he went through a severe episode of several months' duration. He was then able to return home, but was noticeably more dull and peculiar; he could never return to school, and his parents, on the advice of physicians, made life as easy for him as possible. He was able to remain at home until recently, when the family's removal to a large city upset him, and an excitement which again necessitated hospitalization followed.

Not all the cases which we have called constitutional have frank mental breakdowns: sometimes they develop into eccentric or peculiar personalities with bizarre ideas, poor judgment, and peculiar and unusual interests. Nor are they always incapable of learning, though the majority of cases give a history of poor school progress. Occasionally such boys get into high school or even college, where they are always conspicuous for their lack of conformity. A careful investigation will disclose a childhood history similar to the above—marked difference from other children, and an inability to understand or

conform to the demands of the social milieu. There may be stubbornness, ill-temper, cruelty, apparent dullness and stupidity, or simply indifference to the standards and demands of the environment; but always such a child will resist all efforts to change the course of his development. It is true that we are just beginning to recognize this condition as existing from early childhood, and practically no attempts at expert guidance and training have been made; but from the standpoint of our present knowledge this child is no more to be normalized than is the feeble-minded, with whom indeed he is often confused. In maturity he is apt to measure on the borderline of mental defect if not below it; actual mental deterioration usually, perhaps always, occurs.

There is another condition of great interest to workers with boys: that known to the psychiatrist as "paranoia." True paranoia is a rather rare condition, but paranoid trends or states are very common. The boy with a paranoid tendency projects the blame for his own shortcomings upon others. He is the grouch, the fellow with a chip on his shoulder, the "sour belly." Nothing is ever right, but it is never his fault. He is jealous, suspicious, fearful of the invasion of his rights, seeing slights where none were intended. In extreme cases he builds up delusional systems, logically worked out, but depending upon palpably false premises. One boy of the writer's

acquaintance spends most of his time working out his idea of a mechanical man; this creature of his imagination will be able to inhabit the moon and the other planets, and to operate machines which will destroy the human race, so that in future the universe will be controlled by a race of super-machines operated by electrical and mechanical stimuli, applied, we may guess, by our boy himself, who sometimes admits that thus he will become supreme ruler of the universe and arbiter of its destinies. To casual observation this future Jehovah is a good-looking, quiet-mannered fellow, who spends most of his time with mechanical drawings and computations. A condition like this is obviously a compensation for the boy's own lack of prowess and inability to hold his own in the world of youth. Carlos is very shy, exceedingly sensitive, a physical coward, and has never been able to establish normal boy or girl relationships.

In other cases the boy becomes convinced of his family's unfairness, and of persecutions and plots against him. He may arouse much sympathy by his stories of mistreatment, of honors withheld and justice denied. Or he may brood in secret over his imagined wrongs until he decides to right them himself, and the community is startled by an apparently unmotivated crime, or by an adolescent suicide. The oversensitive, brooding, jealous boy is not a person to be passed over lightly; he needs the care and

attention of someone who can get his confidence and help him discover the source of his worries and fancies; in many cases the further development of a paranoid condition can be checked, and the youth guided to a saner adjustment.

Epilepsy is another personality disorder that is apt to show itself unmistakably during adolescence. True epilepsy is a disease characterized by attacks of unconsciousness, varying from those momentary and almost unnoticeable up to severe convulsions or to more or less protracted periods of complete forgetfulness or amnesia. When the disease apparently first develops at puberty or a little later, careful search will often disclose a period of convulsions in infancy, usually attributed to teething or a stomach disturbance; and convulsions in infancy do occur from these causes or others. Or again, without any discoverable reason the child will undergo a change of personality, perhaps some time before the attacks develop. Thus Manuel T——, who aside from the extreme sickness and cramps from which his mother suffered during the pregnancy had a normal enough infancy and grew into a bright and interesting little fellow, began to suffer from temper attacks and spells of irritability at about seven. Gradually his disposition changed and he became peevish, childish, and unreasonable; his first attack came when he was eleven, and there were no more for three

years, when he developed a very severe form of grand mal epilepsy. Grand mal is the term applied when there are convulsive movements of the body during the epileptic attack; petit mal is unconsciousness without the convulsions.

The two conditions most apt to be confused with epilepsy by the layman are fainting and hysterical seizures. Fainting may be in the nature of a habit and may occur in certain people as a reaction to shock or strain; or it may denote some more or less serious physical condition. But when a boy who has not been in the habit of fainting develops such attacks it is well to look into them carefully, because of the possible connection with epilepsy. On the other hand, the hysterical attack may resemble the true epileptic seizure so closely that even the specialist finds it hard to differentiate between them. If it can be demonstrated that the patient is conscious during the attack the chances are that it is hysteria and not epilepsy; however, it is unwise to take chances with the diagnosis, and a boy in whom attacks of any kind occur should always be handled by a competent physician.

A feature of great psychological and social interest in connection with epilepsy is the various forms that the attack may take, some of them bearing not the slightest resemblance to the typical grand mal seizure, beyond the

fact that the patient is not actually conscious, or at least his usual waking consciousness is in abeyance. Thus Daniel C——, noted above, who had periods of amnesia of several weeks' duration, later developed typical epileptic seizures; the amnesias were in the nature of "equivalents," substitutes for the attack. Sometimes there are "dream states" or "twilight states" in which the person is confused, his perceptions are not clear, and he may commit all sorts of asocial or antisocial acts, from undressing upon the street to stealing, or assaulting someone. Sometimes there are "furors," attacks of insane frenzy, in which the person may commit crimes of violence against even his nearest friends. The classical story of Hercules' murderous frenzy toward his own children is an excellent description of this condition. The furors may precede or follow the seizure, or occur as a substitute for it. If he is not known to be a sufferer from epilepsy, or sometimes even if he is, the victim of these conditions may be severely dealt with by society, without any realization that he is entirely irresponsible.

Though the boy who suffers from epilepsy usually loses out intellectually—in the majority of cases there is considerable deterioration—sometimes he may hold his own through high school, college, and even professional school. Occasionally we find the man who has had attacks for years and is still able to conduct a business or

profession. It is seldom wise, however, to push a boy on through school once the diagnosis has been made by a competent specialist. His temperamental difficulties make it hard for him to adjust to the routine and restrictions of the school, and the strain of attempting it is apt to aggravate the condition. Epilepsy, as Dr. L. Pierce Clark has well expressed it, is a "life reaction disorder," and has its roots in the personality make-up of the individual. Nearly always we can trace back to childhood the irritability, hypersensitiveness and overdeveloped ego from which the epileptic suffers. For over two thousand years medical science has struggled with the problem of epilepsy, and has gotten no farther than this. Dosing with drugs, operations, gland therapy, treatments of all sorts and kinds have so far been of no avail. When the child who is predisposed to meet his life problems by withdrawal into unconsciousness can be recognized early enough and trained to understand himself and so order his life as to minimize its opportunities for strain, while at the same time facing the inevitable with courage, we will do all for him that at present we know how to do.

One other abnormal condition remains to be discussed, that of the so-called psychopathic personality or constitutional psychopath. These terms are little more than words used to cover a variety of conditions which do not fit into our other classifications. As the study of human

behavior, especially in youth and infancy, proceeds, we are more and more able to see causes and make connections which enable us to understand behavior hitherto obscure; but there still remains a large group of personalities who are not explainable, either on the grounds of heredity or of early conditioning. We are always faced with the fact that other children with a similar heredity or an environment equally calculated to develop psychopathic traits do not develop them.

The psychopathic boy may display any number of disagreeable or abnormal traits, stubbornness, irritability, extreme jealousy, cruelty, emotional instability, disregard for others' rights and feelings, but it is not these that decide the diagnosis and make us so dubious of his future; it is rather a certain quality of inaccessibility, an orientation toward life and reality which makes it impossible for one to approach his inner life and, to use an expressive schoolboy phrase, "to get him where he lives."

John C—— is a rather typical example. John was twenty-two when we first met him, and according to his own story had had a colorful career. He had been sent to the hospital from the army, where he had attempted to hang himself while confined in the guardhouse for a misdemeanor. He was a slender, depressed-looking youth, who aroused sympathy by frequent allusions to his unhappiness and his feelings that life was over for him.

He was courteous and coöperative, and showed no symptoms of an actual mental illness, but was watched constantly after he had staged another attempt at suicide by tying a towel about his neck and trying to choke himself.

John's story was that he had been born on a rubber plantation in South America, where his father had made and lost several fortunes, but still retained enough to make him a multimillionaire. The boy had been brought up by nurses and governesses in London, Paris, and New York and at twelve had been sent to a well known school to prepare for Harvard, where his father and two older brothers had graduated. His own ambition was West Point and the army, and after a year at Harvard he flatly refused to go back. His father was very angry and told him he could henceforth face life on his own, so at eighteen he went to work as a messenger boy in a bank, devoting his evenings to study.

He met another boy at the bank who was ambitious for the stage, and through him John met some people who changed the whole course of his life. Among them was a great playwright who took a deep interest in him and sent him out to the night clubs and cabarets to "discover" talent for his shows. He had many interesting adventures, culminating in a romance with "May," one of the most beautiful of the girls whom he had found for Mr. A——, who had herself been on the verge of

suicide when he saw her dancing in a downtown night club.

He and May had a little establishment on the proceeds of their joint earnings and were very happy until, one night after a show, his father appeared in his apartment and upbraided him cruelly for his conduct. "I felt terrible," he said, "and I couldn't say to him I was better than he was, for I was faithful to May while I knew he had two establishments at that very minute, to say nothing of the fact that he was still posing as a good husband to my mother." This was the first time that May had known who his father was, and though she had promised to marry him she now refused, as she would be thought to be after his father's money.

One night, a little later, a messenger met him and told him that his father was dying and had sent for him. He went with him in the family Rolls-Royce, which took him, however, to Bellevue Hospital. Here he found himself in the psychopathic ward: his father had decided that he was deranged! The doctors, however, were very kind to him and found nothing wrong. But the next day his father came and told him May had left town and that he himself was to come home. He went, and found himself under surveillance all the time; he could not stir out of the house without a detective whom his father had hired as his "companion." After a week of this he

succeeded in escaping only to learn that the show had gone on the road and May was not with it.

Now began long months of dodging his father and of hunting for May. He worked at everything that would keep him alive and give him time to devote to his search. His story of his suffering, both physical and mental, was very pathetic; but at last he found her posing as an artist's model. He finally persuaded her to come back to him, but they found it very hard to make enough to live as they wished, and May decided that he should enter the army for three years while she got a footing in the theatrical world again. But three months after he had enlisted he had a letter from her telling him that she was pregnant and that she was going to drown herself. He had then attempted suicide.

It was impossible to check up on this story, because the boy had joined the army under an alias, and all the addresses he had given proved fictitious. In the year or more that he remained in the hospital he steadfastly refused to divulge his real name, saying it was so well known that we would know it instantly, and he wished to bring no further disgrace upon it. We learned in due time that May had changed her mind about suicide, the baby had been born, and with the help of friends the girl was on her feet again. John talked much of her courage and his own inability to get hold of himself, and also

went into detail about the abuses of his childhood. It is unnecessary to review them here, but his story of his lack of parental love, of his emulation of his older brother, and his mistreatment at the hands of servants was very convincing. After a while he appeared much better, was cheerful and active, and begged permission to leave the hospital and get to work. For a while he kept in touch with some friends, giving glowing accounts of his finding work and his popularity with his employers. Then he forged a check in his employer's name, cashed it, and disappeared. Six months later we learned that he was about to be committed to a federal penitentiary for his connection with bootlegging, and at this late date we learned his true name and his history. His father was a respectable man with a small business on the East Side and had had a hard struggle to bring up his large family. John had been born in Brooklyn and had attended the public schools through the eighth grade. He had always been a problem, given to fantastic stories and to appropriating other people's property. He had been handled by the juvenile court and by a Child Guidance clinic, and everything done for him that anyone knew how to do, but his delinquencies increased as he grew older. He was always smooth and pleasant with strangers, though at home he showed no regard for his family and almost from his babyhood had been beyond their control.

This case brings out some very common features of the psychopathic boy. He is often an attractive fellow, smooth and pleasant in manner, intelligent, and has the faculty of making friends. He himself, however, is incapable of any real loyalty or devotion. Everything that he does is always with a view to his own pleasure or aggrandizement, and when his friends no longer serve his purpose they are blithely abandoned and often betrayed or robbed as blithely. He can never conform to the ethical or moral standards of our society, though he can give them lip-service with the best upon occasion. He is often a physical coward, and often emotionally unstable, given to rages or consumed with fears. In childhood he is stubborn and unteachable, learning only when and where it pleases him. In school his teachers complain that he will not apply himself, but they seldom mistake him for a dull child. He dislikes mental effort and is apt to put school tasks aside with the boastful remark, "Oh, I can do that—I know all about that." When he attempts them and fails he is not stimulated to master them but loses interest and declares, "I could do it but I don't want to." As he grows older and sees the disadvantage to himself of his lack of knowledge, he may pick up what he wishes with astonishing rapidity, but attempts to guide his acquisition meet with very little success. Reward and punishment have alike little meaning as

incentives; he gets what he wants in his own way, and he never expects to receive punishment, no matter how many times he fails to circumvent it; the next time he will get away with it. Thus will be seen what is meant by the psychopath's inability to learn from experience. Though he may recognize quite clearly the probable consequences of his acts, and intellectually be keenly aware of them, he has no emotional realization of them; always they cannot touch him this time.

Not all boys of this type become criminals or delinquent, though if there is such a thing as the criminal type it is this. But a boy of excellent intelligence may find it more to his advantage to avoid conflict with the law, while exploiting his family and friends. Many a family finds its patience and affection, to say nothing of its finances, taxed to the utmost by such a son. When parents of such a boy seek advice, the psychiatrist has little to offer. All attempts to socialize these children and train them into self-respecting and contributing members of society have met with a large percentage of failure. We have not yet found the key to their behavior.

We must remember, however, that psychopathic behavior is found in many nervous and mental conditions, or even upon occasion in perfectly normal boys. It is only when there is a lifelong history of inability to respond to training and of an emotional self-centeredness

which makes the boy incapable of any real affection for anyone that we may suspect the condition of constitutional psychopathy.

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Chapter IV

The Delinquent Boy

Beginnings of criminal careers in early life—The gang and its dangers—Boys' organizations and adult leadership—The individual delinquent—Mechanisms of delinquency in normal boys —The need for security—Craving for power—Jealousy—Delinquency as a substitute for sex activities—Delinquency as an expression of mental abnormality—Abnormal sex interests—Types of offenses most frequent—Causes of adolescent delinquency.

The problems of delinquency and crime are too complex and varied to be more than touched upon in a book such as this, but no study of adolescence can afford to pass them by, both because youth is the period of life when the majority of crimes are committed, and because our newer studies of personality have shown us conclusively that the beginnings of criminal careers are to be found in early life. Delinquency begins to flourish around the time of puberty, and the peak of the crime curve is reached before adolescence is over. This leads us to question if our social organization does not foster this state of affairs; we have not learned, as did the primitive, to turn the normal strivings and ebullitions of instinct of our

youth to social account. But the organization of our society is unlike the primitive's; he has a more or less static social order whose rules and tenets the child imbibes as he grows up, and though there are dissenters and nonconformists, the group as a whole cherishes certain beliefs and adheres to certain customs.

Outside of a few self-contained religious communities, there is no place in this country where the child does not grow up amid a clash of cultures and beliefs which must certainly bewilder him and foster a feeling of insecurity, especially if he has been reared in a home whose emotional foundations are insecure. Religious, political, ethical, and moral beliefs and standards differ greatly in the same community. What the boy's family countenances is most reprehensible to the family of his chum; what he learns at church or Sunday school is laughed at by his playmates of another faith; what his school teaches him is tabooed by his church; and the rules that govern his conduct do not apply to his elders, or they may apply in one sphere and not in another. When the social mores are so variable and uncertain, it is small wonder that the boy loses his way and sometimes finds himself outside the pale of a society that has given him so little of real help in getting his bearings. Indeed, when we reflect upon this aspect of the matter, the wonder is that so many boys and girls are able to achieve maturity normally.

Among the many social factors that are potent in the development of a criminal career, none is more so than the youthful gang. Based on some of the deepest needs of child nature, and constituting an experience which no boy should miss, it yet has more possibilities than any other situation for the development of antisocial attitudes and the reënforcing of tendencies already present. Children's gangs are almost a universal human institution; we find them among primitive peoples as well as those of antiquity, and in all races of the present day; sometimes they are composed of both boys and girls, but almost invariably as the age of puberty approaches the boys draw apart into gangs of their own, and are likely thereafter to keep to a sex-limited group, a tendency which dies hard, as witness the popularity of men's clubs, fraternities, and secret societies. The boy who stands apart, who cannot fit into the group, who has no friends of his own age almost invariably has personality difficulties which will make adult adjustments hard for him. He may have much to give the world, but his personal happiness will suffer.

The boy gang, as we have intimated in Chapter II, has the meaning from the developmental standpoint of being an extension of the child's love and interest from himself and his immediate family into a larger circle. It is a necessary step toward adult love, which is the bio-

logical goal toward which nature is pushing him. In association with other boys he learns more than he can from anyone else; with them he feels a community of interest that he cannot feel with adults, no matter how well intentioned. Moreover, in late childhood, the boy is beginning to feel the hostility toward the adult world which will develop later into the adolescent struggle for equality with it. To have secrets known only to the gang; to have a secret meeting place with cabalistic signs, passwords, and so on; to carry on his business, just as important as any business will ever be, without the interference of an outsider—what else is dearer to the heart of a boy? In the smaller towns and villages, where the children have access to the real country with its woods and caves and other natural play-places the youthful gang finds its most healthful outlets; this is the setting in which children have stalked wild beasts and enemies, played pirate and robber, and given free play to their wilder instincts for generations. In the better sections of the cities, where parks and playgrounds are plentiful, the gang is more likely to work off its spirits in wholesome play; but in the slums of the great cities, where there are poverty and overcrowding and noise and dirt, where the only playground is the street, and where the adult gangster is the most colorful personality in the neighborhood, the small-boy gang too often trains its members in delin-

quency and becomes the school out of which the boy graduates into the reformatory, and later into a life of anti-social activities.

The Wickersham Committee has called public attention to what all workers with delinquents and criminals already knew, that there are certain areas in our largest cities that are the breeding grounds of criminals, who, beginning their careers as members of a small-boy gang, learning to steal from pushcarts and food counters, go on to shop-lifting, burglary, bootlegging, gambling, and the murder that becomes a necessary accompaniment of their other activities. The adult "gangster" is but the logical outgrowth of the little boy who learned to steal and to be a good fellow as a member of a gang. We will never be rid of the adult gangster until we have recognized him in childhood and provided scope for his natural impulses in a more wholesome environment. The boy gang in our large cities is a challenge to our educational methods. These children go through the schools and come out with their anti-social tendencies intensified. Not that the school has done this, but that it has failed to prevent it, is the indictment against it. The school is the only agency that reaches "all the children of all the people," and its responsibility is heavy. But the school cannot accomplish such tasks unaided; every intelligent member of the community has a share in this responsibility.

As puberty approaches, a new interest arises, and the gang becomes a center for sex discussion, perhaps for sex experimentation of various sorts. The boy who is late developing or who finds the gang's new activities distasteful for any reason is apt to withdraw, and so gangs are constantly falling apart and being reconstituted with different members. The fact, however, that sexual interests and feelings are developing makes for closer friendships and the beginning of homosexual attitudes. Boys draw apart into smaller groups of three or four, or pair off into pals and buddies; the friendship may be, and probably usually is, at least in boys of good family and upbringing, on the basis of mutual interests other than sex; but that there are many instances in which sex activities are the tie that binds is evidenced in every children's court and clinic. If the boys are healthy-minded, such discussions or experimentation are little more than the effort of the maturing organism to orient itself in the new world that is opening before it; the danger arises when the boy, because of ignorance or immaturity, is unable to take things into his own hands and falls a prey to anxiety which may express itself in anti-social conduct such as truancy or stealing. Healy[1] has called attention many times to how often this happens. Every child

[1] RECONSTRUCTING BEHAVIOR IN YOUTH, p. 42. Also Healy: MENTAL CONFLICTS AND MISCONDUCT, and references at end of chapter.

psychiatrist knows cases of this sort. As an illustration, there was Jamie, an attractive little fellow of thirteen, who began failing in his school work and playing truant; a little later he ran away from home, having taken twenty-five dollars from his mother's purse to buy a railroad ticket to New York. When Jamie's difficulties were explored he was found to be worrying over the sex activities in which his gang was engaging. Jamie had not taken part but had listened and looked and become obsessed with the matter. He could think of nothing else; the scenes danced before him when he tried to study, and his playing truant was in reaction to a scarcely conscious desire to get away where he could think things out. But this did little good, and he finally evolved the scheme of getting clear away where he felt he would be free from such temptations.

The most important consideration in regard to the boy gang is that of leadership. Among spontaneously organized groups the leader may be a boy of keener intelligence or more forceful personality but one who is a legitimate member of the particular group. An ideal situation of this sort was the "White House gang" of which the youthful Roosevelts were members, and which has been so delightfully described in a recent book.[2] But all too

[2] Looker, Earle, THE WHITE HOUSE GANG, N. Y., Fleming H. Revell Co., 1929.

often the leader of a small-boy gang will be an older boy of inferior intelligence or one whose personality has caused his ejection from his own age group, and the gang will inevitably take its complexion from the leaders. The spirit of group loyalty which is so strong at this time, and the code of honor which makes it a crime to "peach" or "squeal" on a "pal," render it difficult sometimes to discover whether the activities of the gang are legitimate or not. One recently exposed in the newspapers had the high-sounding title of the "Clean-up-the-neighborhood Club," and its headquarters were in the cellar of an old house. The cellar proved to be full of articles pilfered from the homes of the neighborhood.

In recent years there has been a great emphasis upon boys' organizations developed and fostered by adults. The Boy Scouts is the best known of these, but there are innumerable others, in churches, schools, and other institutions. These organizations are of value in so far as they give play to the natural impulses of this period and provide outlets for them in wholesome activities. But they may become overorganized and dominated by adult leadership until much of their value is lost. Too many boys' groups are organized merely with the idea of "keeping busy" or "tiding over" without utilization of their resources for enriching and enlarging the boy's experiences. Such organizations often fail to attract and hold

the very boys who most need the stabilizing influence of a well-conducted group.

Among young delinquents there is a surprising dearth of boys who have been or are members of such a group.

The leader of the boys' group cannot be too carefully chosen. It sometimes happens that the man drawn to such work is attracted to it because of an unhealthy interest in boys and even though his activities may be above reproach his attitude does not make for the morale which such groups are attempting to develop.

When we come to consider the individual delinquent, we find it necessary to revise some of our earlier ideas. A few years ago we heard it commonly asserted that delinquents and criminals were people of low mentality, or possessed of some abnormality which made it impossible for them to conform to our social standards. As our studies of delinquency have proceeded, however, it has become evident that this earlier position was a mistake. The majority of young delinquents, certainly, are as normal as the average personality and are capable of rehabilitation. Groves and Blanchard, reviewing the estimates of various authorities in this field, sum up by saying that "approximately three-fourths of young delinquents are non-defective and are not suffering from any form of mental disease which could cause anti-social con-

duct."[3] Healy, who has done more work with the problem of delinquency in children and adolescents than anyone in this country, considers that not only are the great majority of youthful offenders of normal mentality and personality, but that they can be saved to a life of social usefulness when given the enlightened care and treatment that can now be afforded. Success does not depend upon the kind of offense, because among his successes there is no single delinquency of any kind, including murder, that is not represented. The offense is the expression of underlying conditions or conditionings in the personality, which must themselves be understood before we are likely to have much success in the rehabilitation of the young delinquent. But what are these "conditions and conditionings" that may lead to anti-social conduct in normal boys?

The fundamental need of a child is for security; to this all other needs give place. To feel himself as part of a family unit, to know that back of him are parents or their substitutes who love him and are protecting him, that wherever he goes there is a home to return to which is his by right—these are the things which the infant human being craves, and for which, if he is deprived of them, he can never find a substitute. If he cannot get a

[3] Groves and Blanchard: INTRODUCTION TO MENTAL HYGIENE, p. 74. See reference at end of chapter.

foothold in somebody's affections in his infancy, he can never get a sure foothold in life. All workers with dependent and delinquent children know the tenacity with which they cling to "their own," even when they have been abused and neglected by them. They "belong" to the family, and there is a sense in which this belonging is unique, and which the child feels long before he can understand the family as a biological unit. Delinquent children come in large measure from broken homes, or homes in which poverty, alcoholism, quarreling, and neglect render their emotional foundations insecure. Poverty and a poor environment, however, are not nearly so potent in themselves, as numerous studies have proved: it is through their effect upon the parent that they exert their most baneful effects upon the child.

The boy who in his childhood has felt himself deprived of the love and security which are his birthright may react with delinquency as an expression of the bitterness within him or in an effort to secure some form of compensation for his lack. He is not himself always aware of the motivation of his conduct and may give various excuses for it.

Jack L——, who at thirteen became a persistent truant from school and finally began to steal from his stepfather, and gave as the reason that he had to work too hard after school, was taking out upon the stepfather,

who in reality was very kind to him, the hatred he felt for his own father, who had deserted him in his infancy.

Dick M——, whose father died in a state penitentiary and whose mother deserted him before he was two, developed into a "master burglar" by eighteen, though he was a boy of unusual intelligence and normal personality. Dick was of Armenian descent and very dark, so that he was frequently at first sight mistaken for a colored boy. The first family in which he was placed consisted of a husband and wife who had recently lost their only child, and the foster mother grew exceedingly fond of him. The foster father became jealous, declared the child was colored, and forced his return to the agency. He was much attached to the foster mother and felt the separation from her keenly. Through some oversight he was placed with a colored family when he was four and got on nicely with them until he was eight, when he began to realize the difference between himself and the foster parents. He made an effort to play with the white boys of the neighborhood, who called him a "nigger" and chased him away; his colored playmates in return for his defection called him "stuck-up white trash"; he began to brood over what seemed the monstrous injustice that had been done him by society, and made an effort to get out of the situation by running away. He soon added stealing to truancy—as he said he "had to live"—and was sent

to the State Industrial School, but began stealing again when released. By the time he was thirteen he had spent several terms in the State school and had learned the finer points of burglary from some of the older boys. Though many efforts were made, it was never possible to find a home for him in which he could have a chance at reformation; he grew up feeling that he did not belong anywhere, and his expressed intention at sixteen was, "I'll get even with them for what they've done to me"—"they" and "them" being the delinquent's terms for society. A boy of Dick's intelligence and potentialities who adopts a criminal career is not only a menace to society but a tragic loss to it.

Another imperious need of the human organism is the craving for power, the desire to feel himself of importance, to be a success in the world, to put himself across. This need is very strong in early adolescence and is closely tied up with the developing sex functions. Any lack of power now or feeling of inferiority means to the boy a defect in his developing manhood which must be compensated for in some way, even though he may not be aware of the actual motives that lie back of his conduct. Many minor delinquencies in adolescence are engaged in for the purpose of display and impressing the other boys, under the necessity of proving to the boy himself that he is as good as the next fellow. Harry E——

began stealing money from home when he was about eleven, buying candy with it to distribute to the boys of his gang. His parents found out what he was doing and punished him, and he ceased for a while, but a little later he stole larger sums and invested in cigarettes for his boy friends. Harry was a delicate, undersized little fellow who suffered greatly from asthma. He could not do many things that the other boys did, but he could win popularity by his gifts. More serious delinquencies are sometimes traceable to the same source. Schoolboy fights and gang wars are a more direct expression of it, as are the brutal exhibitions that boys sometimes put on. The boy who is too greatly repressed at home, either held down by authority or by the adjuration to "be a gentleman at all times" is likely to go berserk when he gets away just to prove to himself and the other fellows that he is a "regular guy." Indeed, it is just the boy who has a real or fancied inferiority of some sort, or who is too greatly restrained at home, who finds it necessary to react, by way of compensation, with conduct that is all too often inimical to the best interests of the community.

The frequency with which delinquents are undersized, deformed, or physically inferior in some way has often been remarked. However, we do not need to invoke any obscure effects of the body upon the mind or the personality to account for their delinquent careers, as the

normal human drive to compensate in some way or other for what one lacks would seem sufficiently explanatory. There are of course many ways of compensation besides delinquent behavior, and why a boy chooses one way instead of another is seldom if ever apparent except to prolonged and careful investigation.

Again, jealousy is a trait which flourishes in adolescence and which may lead to delinquency more or less serious. As we have seen, during adolescence, the normal boy succeeds in making the transfer of part of his affections from his mother to some other woman or girls of his own age. During this transition period however, he may find himself more strongly attached to his mother than ever before, and anything which interferes with his possession of her arouses keen jealousy. Thus Mrs. F——, the mother of a fifteen-year-old son, returned from her marriage to a second husband to find that her closets had been raided and all her clothing cut into shreds. The boy was exceedingly angry at her and jealous of his prospective stepfather and had taken this means of venting his anger. Another fourteen-year-old "stacked" his parents' room when they went out together in the evening, leaving him alone at home to learn his lessons. Jealousy of another boy's attention to a girl is, as everyone knows, a fruitful source of various forms of misdemeanors, culminating sometimes in actual murder.

Frequently also, during adolescence, delinquency is a substitute for sex activities. We have already noted how a conflict over such matters is found at the bottom of anti-social behavior. Stealing may be an outlet for sex tension and the boy derive a thrill from it which provides a substitute form of satisfaction. Unusual sex behavior, such as exhibitionism, fetishism, and so on, belongs in the category of the abnormal, but the exaggerated interest in girls which we sometimes see and which may lead a boy to aggressive acts against them may be merely a substitute for a strong homosexual tendency against which he is fighting. Sex relations with girls constitute the normal biological goal, and in carrying them out he is assuring himself that he is a normal personality. The line between normal and abnormal is very hard to draw, and in dealing with children and adolescents one often has to await the outcome of remedial measures or to observe the effect of further development toward maturity. Least of all in adolescence can we judge a boy by what he does: we must discover if possible the underlying motives and judge his behavior in relation to them.

It cannot be denied, however, that many delinquencies are directly traceable to abnormal mental states. Among these that of mental deficiency is best known to the layman. The mental defective even in maturity has the mind of a child with the consequent poor judgment and

inability to envisage the future. When the mental defect is accompanied by personality defects such as bad temper, cruelty, or a resentful attitude towards people in general, we need not be surprised if these attitudes express themselves in delinquent behavior, though the mental defective as such is no more prone to delinquency than the rest of us. What too frequently happens is that he is the stool pigeon or the henchman for a brighter criminal, and he is the one who gets caught. This situation will never be remedied until some such program as that devised by the late Walter E. Fernald in Massachusetts is carried out. This program provides for the registration of all mental defectives and their status under the law as children, no matter what age they may attain. Thus the person who exploits them is made responsible.

In an earlier chapter we have called attention to the frequency of the beginning forms of dementia præcox during adolescence. Because of the nature of the disease, in which the judgment deteriorates and there is increasing indifference to the demands of reality, delinquency is a not infrequent accompaniment. Sometimes there is a long struggle before the personality finally succumbs, and in this process many things may take place which seem to the onlooker like deliberate delinquent acts. Robert H—— well illustrates this. Robert was a bright little fellow who did well in school up to the age of fif-

teen, when, as he himself expressed it, he began to feel differently. He lost interest in his studies and began to indulge excessively in daydreaming. These daydreams were largely of a sexual nature and disturbed the boy not a little. At the same time he began to have fantastic ideas of his own importance and became greatly incensed at his father, who attempted to force him to do better work in school and to do something at home besides sit around the house and dream. He fantasied all sorts of revenges upon his father, including torture and murder, but he never attempted to carry them out. He was, however, exceedingly disagreeable and swore loudly at his father and threatened him. Robert himself realized that something was the matter and made strenuous efforts to pull himself together. His father felt it might be better if he should go away from home, and so he was sent to a military school, but he could do no better there, was very unhappy, and finally ran away and hitch-hiked his way back to his home in a Western state. Here he took a competitive examination and won a scholarship to the state university. When he was eighteen he matriculated and for several months found himself getting interested again and doing fairly well. However, the old ideas returned, and in order to get away from them he left school and joined the navy. Here he was a disciplinary problem, spent most of his time in the guardhouse and was

soon recognized as a constitutionally inferior personality and given a discharge. Robert now went back home, where his widowed father was living alone, and trouble began afresh. He began systematically stealing from his father, who could not understand the state of affairs and engaged in terrible scenes with the boy, in one of which they fought, and Robert was severely injured. Relatives now interfered, and the boy was taken to the home of an aunt, where he recovered from several broken ribs and for some months thereafter behaved himself normally. He began studying shorthand, worked out a scheme for improving the system, and seemed quite interested. He obtained a position on his own initiative but was so overbearing and dictatorial in the office that he was soon dismissed. For several years he vacillated between long periods of daydreaming and indifference and spells of activity in which he worked feverishly. When he was twenty-one he demanded the small patrimony due him from his mother's estate and upon obtaining it, purchased several quarts of bootleg whisky and persuaded a feeble-minded girl of the community to run away with him. They got no farther than the local hotel, both too drunk to tell their names, but as the boy was known in the community, the father was notified, and he had him arrested. At this juncture a physician friend of the father suggested that the boy was eligible for treatment at a naval

hospital, and he was sent to one. Robert was a boy of good breeding and upbringing, very good-looking, and he made an excellent impression. He had been sobered by his recent experiences, and it was difficult to discover what actually was the matter. A great deal of work was done with him by a physician interested in the treatment of such cases, and the mechanism of his conduct was uncovered. However, it was not until two years later, when Robert was twenty-four, that he had an actual breakdown, when he heard voices talking to him, saw visions of his dead mother, and indulged in typical psychotic behavior. He has now settled down fairly comfortably in the hospital, and derives much pleasure from his fanciful delusions. If he could have been handled by a psychiatrist in the beginning of his difficulty, much worry and trouble could have been avoided, though we do not know if his psychosis could have been prevented.

Paranoia is another mental condition which may lead to anti-social acts without their basis in the boy's twisted mentality being recognized. Carl R—— began a delinquent career early and was in Juvenile Court by the time he was fourteen. The boy's intelligence was good, and he graded several points above average, although his school work had always been poor. A great deal of work was done with him by an agency, but his delinquencies continued, although so cleverly were they concealed that

it was difficult to place them upon him. Carl was sullen and unresponsive and was always claiming that he did not receive a square deal. When he was seventeen his mother had him arrested for attacking her and he was sent to the psychopathic ward at the city hospital. Here he was polite and behaved himself normally, so that he was soon discharged. The very next day he repeated the attack upon his mother. He was finally sent to the government hospital, where he has remained for several years, being a trouble maker most of the time because of his absolute belief that he has been framed up and that his detention is illegal. He has never taken any interest in work or in any attempt to make an adjustment which would enable him to leave the hospital. Though to casual observation he appears entirely normal, he is gradually developing a delusional system whose beginnings can be traced back to early childhood.

It is not unusual for a boy suffering from a manic-depressive state to become delinquent. The manic attack in which the boy is elated or excited, judgment is lost, and there is great urge to activity, is very apt to issue in anti-social acts. Martin M—— began having such states when he was about fifteen. He became restless and overactive, played truant from school, was noisy and irritable at home, and quarreled loudly when his father attempted to correct him. Martin was never dishonest, but he drank

heavily during these attacks and was sexually very promiscuous. His father took him to court, and he was placed on probation, which did little for him because his condition was not understood. When in his normal state Martin was a very likable chap, and his parents were much distressed over his seemingly wayward behavior. He had three such attacks by the time he was nineteen; following the third one he developed a deep depression during which he had to be sent to a hospital, where his true condition was recognized.

A more obscure case was Milton N——, who developed episodes of stealing about the time of puberty. As Milton was always well supplied with money by his parents, there was no reason for the stealing, and indeed he could give no reason for it himself. "I don't know why I steal," he said, "I just get to feeling wretched and disagreeable, and then I am likely to go out and take something." Milton was studied at the clinic soon after an episode of stealing and appeared to have a subnormal intelligence. A job was found for him, and he was placed on probation, where he got along beautifully for nine months, when again he took some money from the pocket of his roommate. When returned to the clinic, he was dirty, unkempt, and apparently confused. He continued depressed for some time, then improved and became bright and alert. To the astonishment of every-

body, his mental age went up three years. He could not hold this level for any length of time, however, and was soon again depressed, as he expressed it, "feeling disagreeable." By the time Milton was eighteen he had developed a definite type of manic-depressive psychosis.

Delinquencies are committed by epileptics also, and whenever we find a particularly unreasonable crime of violence, we may suspect the perpetrator of this condition. But it is the constitutional psychopath who is the delinquent *par excellence*. Such a boy never begins his delinquences out of a clear sky, nor are they in the nature of response to special situations, as often happens in the normal boy. The personality traits which are his earmarks show up even in childhood, as we have said in the preceding chapter. He may be an incorrigible child, or he may show merely a sliding out of the ordinary training of home and school which is very hard to define. His delinquencies are usually in the nature of getting what he wants in a way that appeals to him without any thought for the inconvenience or even disaster that it may cause. He wants money, so he steals it. He wants to take a trip, and he appropriates an automobile. A little later forgery is a favorite means of obtaining money. He wants recognition, so he invents boastful stories of his own exploits; he wants revenge upon someone, and so he invents malicious stories about him. He is seldom a

clumsy liar, often a very plausible one and can deceive even the expert. It is easy for him to profess sorrow for his misdeeds and promise reformation which he never really intends, as he is entirely too satisfied with his own ego. The truly psychopathic boy is probably never a good mixer. He may have a pal or a few friends in a small group but they are usually underlings and chosen because of their willingness to carry out his wishes. He may be clever enough to conceal his activities for some time and take an especial delight in aiding the search for the offender.

Noel D——who for some time stole money from the teachers in his school, was finally discovered through his accusations of another boy after he had shown indefatigable zeal in attempting to run down the thief. Later, during his freshman year in college, Noel entered upon a clever career of breaking and entering which would probably not have been discovered if he could have resisted the temptation to boast of his exploits.

It is the psychopath's poor judgment that is usually his undoing. He appears constitutionally incapable of projecting himself into another person's situation and realizing how that person is going to feel about his behavior, and so he is incapable of checking up on himself by the standards of society.

As remarked above, the psychopathic boy is often very

attractive and capable of making friends. Girls and women are especially attracted to him. He can be winning and deferential and give lip service in abundance, and such a man may have the lifelong devotion of a woman whom he permits to starve and suffer all kinds of deprivation on his account. However, the psychopathic boy is not necessarily a delinquent. He may manage to keep out of the clutches of the law while being a trouble maker at home and at school, unable to adjust himself to their requirements, but managing to evade final responsibility for his misdeeds. Eventually he may grow into a clever crook whom everyone suspects but whom society finds it very hard to convict of any actual misdemeanors.

There are certain types of sex offenses that boys commit that are distinctly abnormal, in the sense that they occur in boys who have suffered some abnormality in the course of their psycho-sexual development. A fairly common offense of this sort is that known to the psychiatrist as "exhibitionism," in which the boy exposes himself, usually where he can be seen by some girl or woman. Such behavior harks back to infancy, and the boy displaying it will be found to be the possessor of a "psychic infantilism" that prevents him from making a normal sexual adjustment. The childish behavior takes the place of the normal adolescent display of prowess and accomplishments designed to attract the attention of the oppo-

site sex. The "Jack-the-Peepers" also, who attempt to spy upon girls and women in the hope of finding them undressed, and who can be found often around bathing places or hiding in the vicinity of girls' locker rooms, are still more childish personalities. The "rippers" and "slashers" who cut pieces out of girls' clothing and snip off locks of their hair are again exhibiting behavior that is directly traceable to an abnormality in the sex life. The adolescent boy who indulges in this behavior may grade high in intelligence, be a good student and a model of behavior in other respects. Treatment directed to the behavior is of no effect since it is only a symptom, and the underlying weakness must be eradicated if the boy is to outgrow it. Such a condition always calls for treatment by a psychiatrist.

Homosexuality in the sense of the desire for sexual contact with other boys and men with a corresponding dislike for normal association with girls, also must be considered the expression of an abnormal personality. As to whether or not children are born with such a perverted disposition, authorities are disagreed. There may be glandular difficulties which aggravate it, but in the majority of cases that have been studied it would appear that the condition is developed in a neurotic child by his early experiences. However that may be, when an adolescent boy consciously seeks such relationships with other boys

or men and continues to do so when every opportunity is given him to form more normal relationships, we have a situation which is pretty difficult to handle. Incarceration in a reformatory where his associations must necessarily be with other boys and men only adds fuel to the flame, and he comes out worse than when he went in. Such a boy will often show other abnormalities, is frequently addicted to alcohol, and in many cases breaks down later into a frank psychosis. The fear and horror which many people feel in regard to homosexuality helps not a whit in dealing with such boys. Society would save itself much expense and trouble, as well as do much more for the boys, if they were recognized as medical and psychiatric problems and treated accordingly.

As to the type of offenses most commonly committed by delinquent boys, we find stealing in some form or other occurring most frequently. Truancy from school and running away from home are very common also. Sex offenses are relatively infrequent, but this may mean that boys are less frequently apprehended in sex misconduct than girls, since the standards of sex behavior for girls and boys still differ. The sex offenses for which boys are apprehended usually take some other form of behavior than relationships with girls. Among young boy delinquents we find those who are teachers of sex practices to other children, who talk excessively about

sex matters, or who write obscene notes or distribute obscene pictures. In the majority of cases all these youngsters need is some sound instruction and some constructive outlets for their energies. Misunderstanding, harsh punishment, branding them as "dirty" or as "wicked," and forbidding their association with "nice" boys, are sure ways of encouraging them in delinquent careers.

The majority of delinquencies that have been studied occur in early or middle adolescence. When the boy in late adolescence, at work or in college, commits a similar offense, he is branded as a criminal and denied the study and understanding treatment that he might receive were he younger. The one whose first offence occurs in late adolescence, however, is more apt to be an abnormal personality, though there are, to be sure, many exceptions. Progress towards maturity brings stability, and experience promotes better judgment so that the incidence of delinquencies decreases markedly as we near maturity. What shall we say, then, of the commonly accepted notion that heredity and bad environment are responsible for juvenile and adolescent delinquency? There is no acceptable proof as yet that heredity plays any significant part in the production of delinquency; even where there are delinquent parents or other relatives, there are factors just as important which may be invoked to explain the behavior.

Burt,[4] who has studied intensively two hundred young offenders in Great Britain, found four fifths of them from families without any criminal records; and Healy and Bronner,[5] who found forty-five per cent of 675 "repeaters" to have delinquent relatives, yet found this group as responsive to treatment as that with good heredity.

As to the influence of a bad environment, we have already noted that it is the home itself which is of most importance, and that all other environmental conditions must be judged largely in relation to their effect upon it. No one would contend for a moment that poverty, insanitary conditions, vicious companions, and the like, are without their effect upon the developing child; but that they are not the important factors is evidenced both by the number of children who develop into worthy citizens in spite of them and by the number from apparently good surroundings who become delinquent. The home, after all, is the child's anchor; if he is to find his way about in our bewildering social order, to learn to seek his satisfactions in ways that will not interfere with his neighbors, and attain to manhood with some degree of social vision, his home must start him off with the assurance of his place in it and its confidence in him as a

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[4] Cyril Burt, THE YOUNG DELINQUENT.

[5] Healy and Bronner, DELINQUENTS AND CRIMINALS. See references at end of chapter.

responsible human being. In these days when it is fashionable to talk about the disintegration of the family, that is the lesson which we have learned from our study of the delinquent boy.

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Chapter V

The Normal Youth

Adolescence as the "growing-up" period—No definite line between normal and abnormal—The boy of "average" intelligence —The "superior" boy—Intelligence masked by emotional factors —Temperament and disposition—Introvert and extrovert—The "normal introversion" of early adolescence—The theory of the "four mental functions" and their help in understanding the boy —The emancipation from the family—Influence of parental attitudes upon the young child—The boy's struggle for freedom— Dreams of adolescent boys—Adjustments of middle adolescence— The "girl problem."

As we follow the adolescent boy in primitive times, watch his development upon the stage of history, note his activities and interests and the efforts that have been made to train him for manhood, we cannot but be impressed by the fact that in all times and all places the adolescent human being has been very much the same. Ever since man became man, he has been actuated by the same forces and driven by the same impulses. He has certain needs which, having their origin in the first place in bodily wants, make themselves manifest in mental atti-

tudes, thoughts, feelings, and strivings. Adolescence has always been the time when certain of these needs and desires reach the climax of their development and the boy became aware of himself as a social being. Among primitive peoples, as we have seen, this dawning social consciousness was reinforced in every way that the boy might feel himself a new creature, forever cut off from any ties that might bind him to the old life of childish irresponsibility and dependence. Throughout history and on down to the present day education and training have been directed, even though more or less unconsciously, to the same end; the boy must grow up, he must put away childish things and become a man. The universal and age-long emphasis upon this necessity would suggest that human beings find growing up a difficult process. The bringing of the boy's instinctive impulses into line with the demands of his society, the renunciation of old childish modes of gratification of these impulses, the shifting of what may be regarded as the selfish desire for individual growth and development to interest in the life of the race as represented by the social group has been the aim of education at all times and in all places. Few indeed have been the times and places in which the boy himself with his particular endowments and his personality as it has been shaped and molded by the experiences of his childhood have been the things to receive chief

emphasis in the schemes for his education. Indeed, it is only recently that we have had the means for any real knowledge or understanding of the mechanisms of development in adolescence. Inadequate as these means undoubtedly are, they have already given us a better appreciation of the boy's nature and needs than we have ever had heretofore.

In the preceding chapters we have described at some length the abnormalities, both mental and emotional, that may manifest themselves in adolescence, and have learned what to expect of the normal boy, for there is no hard-and-fast line between normality and abnormality, and the mechanisms which display themselves so plainly in pathological conditions are identical with those to be found at work in the normal adolescent. We have already discussed the varying degrees of sub-average intelligence to be found among boys, but we must not forget that even when intelligence is average or above as measured by standardized tests there remains a question of function or the use the boy is able to make of the endowment which he possesses. Especially during early adolescence a boy of good intelligence may show a surprising degree of intellectual dullness or laziness; school becomes a bore, and he does barely enough work to get by, or he may fail completely in one or more subjects. Not infrequently he plays truant from school or refuses to do his home work.

Before the compulsory education age was raised so high, boys of good average intelligence left school around thirteen or fourteen in large numbers and either went to work or loafed and had a good time. Now the school keeps them, often at great expenditure of effort and energy. They are destined for college or technical school and must cover certain subjects and make certain preparations, but college or technical school is a long way off to the boy in junior high school; there are other more pressing problems close at hand. If the other fellows are going to college he supposes that he will go too, but in the meantime there is no special hurry for preparation. However, it is a question if the boy of average intelligence should be prepared for college; as traditionally organized, the college has little appeal to him. Sciences and mathematics and often foreign languages, especially the classical languages are largely beyond his powers of acquisition. His is a practical mind fitted for handling concrete situations but little adapted for abstract thinking. It is in early adolescence that the turning point comes for the boy of average intelligence, when the school subjects begin to grow difficult and at the same time his new interests and points of view are occupying so much of his attention. The school must hold him, but it must recognize his limitations and provide work suited to his capacities but designed with something more in view than keeping him

busy and tiding him over a difficult period. Much is said and written about the tastes and manners of the average man with the implication that he is incapable of assimilating anything different. There is no evidence whatever that this is true. The average person, while his interests are certainly not intellectual, is quite capable of an appreciation of the better things of life, and if he is brought in contact with them in childhood forms his tastes and manners accordingly. In addition he often has special abilities or talents which are of great social value. The school is beginning to recognize these, but even yet we are providing far too little of interest and future value for these boys and girls who will shortly form by far the greater part of our citizenry. Visual education, the radio, activity programs and projects, music and drama in the school are a step in the right direction, but there is always danger of formalizing them and making the child feel that here is just one more subject to be grasped. We have all heard the story of the children who were being taken through an art gallery by their teacher and carefully restrained their enthusiasm because, as one girl whispered to another, "Don't say much about that picture, we'll have to write an essay on it if you do!"

The boy of average intelligence suffers perhaps more from too much being expected of him than from anything else. If he is a normal boy with a bright and alert man-

ner and a wide field of interests, which the normal youngster has, it is often hard for parents to accept the fact that he does not possess the intellectual qualities necessary for leadership. In early adolescence, when the school subjects begin to grow difficult and boresome for him, when sports and athletics take on so much importance, and he wants to spend so much time with other boys and outside of his home, parents become anxious and worry and nag him, reminding him of how much better he did when he was a little fellow, of how many sacrifices they are making for him, and of their ambitious projects for his future. He may react with discouragement, feelings of dissatisfaction with himself, and a belief in his inferiority, but he is far more apt to develop feelings of resentment against his parents. Delinquencies of various kinds among normal boys have often been traced to such unwise parental attitudes. Great patience and forebearance are usually the part of the parents in such a situation.

Ward C—— was a boy of this type whose parents were college-bred people, the father holding a university position. It had always been expected that Ward would be a university man and enter a profession, but school grew less and less interesting to him. English was very difficult for him, and algebra was his Waterloo. He grew very fast and at the age of fourteen was nearly six feet tall; in the spring of that year, fearing that he was going

to fail in the eighth grade, he ran away. He was soon found and returned, and the parents wisely did not punish him but attempted to find out what was back of his behavior. All he would tell them was that he was tired of school and the only thing that he was interested in was music; they had been unwilling to allow him to study music because they had been told that he had no special talent and that it would interfere with his school work. The psychologist advised that he be permitted to join the school band, that nothing more should be said about his home work, but that he should be encouraged to go to summer school and make up what he had lost. He was willing to try this if he might be permitted to spend the time that he wished upon music. For two or three years Ward was greatly interested in the subject, and it served to tide him over the few succeeding years. However, the parents were finally persuaded that it was useless to insist upon his taking a college preparatory course; as the boy was greatly interested in mechanics he was permitted to take a course in automobile repairing. He sustained his interest, did excellent work, found no difficulty in getting employment after graduation, and is now saving money and looking towards the establishment of a shop of his own.

The superior boy, the one whose intelligence is not only above the average, but whose judgment is mature for his

age and who suffers from no emotional hold-back, deserves much better than he has often received at our hands. In the last few years we have heard much about the accelerated child and the necessity for placing him with his intellectual equals. More often this results in placing him with boys who are physically much better developed than he, and able to engage in sports and athletic activities which are as yet beyond him. This too frequently results in throwing him back upon himself for his interests and amusement. If he is an entirely healthy-minded youngster he will probably manage, but if he is sensitive he may come to feel that he does not belong anywhere or may develop feelings of social inferiority. Superior children frequently do not develop into superior adults, in all probability because we have not yet worked out a satisfactory method of providing for their social adjustment. The work of Dr. Paul Furfey[1] is of interest in this connection. He has worked out what he calls "developmental age," which is measured not by intelligence but by the boy's interests and his social attitudes. Developmental age thus denotes the point which the boy has reached in his progress toward maturity of personality, as distinct from his intellectual growth. Boys grouped on this basis may differ considerably in "I Q" ratings or

[1] Furfey, Paul Hanly, "The Measurement of Developmental Age," *Catholic Education Press*, Vol. II, No. 10, Dec., 1927.

in actual intelligence, but they form a more harmonious and better adjusted group, because they are all approximately at the same stage of personality development.

Before we leave the subject of intelligence, it is well to call attention to the fact that it may be masked by emotional factors. Many people have certain disabilities which are inconsistent with their general level of intelligence and which cannot be shown to depend upon any physiological factors. The frequency with which the inability to learn mathematics is connected with an emotional attitude toward the subject is remarkable. Many people have an "arithmetic complex" so that the moment they are confronted with a problem their immediate reaction is, "Oh I never could do arithmetic," or, "I do not know any mathematics." No matter how simple the problem is, they become blocked the moment they see figures. This usually turns out to be not a real disability, but an unpleasant emotional experience that has transferred itself to mathematical problems, and they become symbols of failure, of guilt, or of other unpleasant things. Sometimes the child has been mistaught, or has had a teacher who inspired him with fear, or there has been some other unpleasant experience with the hated subject. These emotional attitudes may attach themselves to any subject and appear like an actual inability to learn it. One well known case concerned a child who had an inabil-

ity to learn geography which was traced to an extremely unpleasant experience which had attached itself in fantasy to the Great Lakes. Thereafter anything reminiscent of maps or geographical ideas became exceedingly distasteful to her. The human mind is a very complex affair, often working in very subtle ways, and it is unwise to dismiss a boy as merely unable to learn certain subjects until his mental attitudes have been thoroughly investigated.

But intelligence, important as it is, is only one aspect of the personality, and, as we have seen, its proper function is largely dependent upon other factors. Temperament and disposition begin to express themselves more plainly in adolescence and to take on the features that they will carry in maturity. We have heard a great deal in the last few years about "introverts" and "extroverts," and the impression has grown up that by these terms are implied a set of traits or habits which mark one as belonging in one or the other group. This was by no means the idea of Jung, who developed the theory of psychological types for us. By "introversion" and "extroversion" Dr. Jung means the direction of interest. The person who is "oriented to the object," that is, whose interest goes out to external reality and is occupied with external objects, is extroverted; while he whose interest turns inward upon his own inner thoughts and feelings is "oriented towards

the subject" and is an introvert. The introvert may make a very good social adjustment, have a wide range of interests, and appear on the surface extroverted, but his own inner life is the thing of most importance to him, and his other activities must always be equated with it. The extrovert, on the other hand, may be driven within himself by his early experiences and appear shy and withdrawn while at the same time his chief interest is in outer reality, even though he cannot make the contact with it that he wishes. The writer has seen this happen over and over with stammerers, who nearly always appear shy, shut-in, and withdrawn personalities, but once they are released from their stammering, in many cases they become very extroverted persons and tell us that they have always felt extreme interest in the outer world and only after many rebukes have been driven into themselves. The ideal personality strikes the balance between introversion and extroversion and is not unduly one type or the other.

Many students of adolescence insist that in the early teens the boy or girl naturally withdraws into himself or herself for a while and becomes shy and bashful. In an experience with many hundreds of students the writer has found in the great majority of instances they confessed to having a period of bashfulness in early adolescence. Students of primitive life have noticed a like phenomenon among young adolescents. Miss Mead, in her

study of adolescence in Samoa, tells us that although Samoan children are familiar with sex in all its aspects from their earliest childhood, yet when adolescence is reached and the boy wishes a more intimate acquaintance with the girls, he is often too shy to make approaches himself but sends another boy or man to act as a go-between. This tendency to shyness and withdrawal probably has a biological significance and prevents the rush into mature sex activities before the organism is ready for them.

This period is also the period of the greatest development of the fantasy life. Though most of us fantasy or daydream more or less from infancy to old age there is no time when fantasy is so rich and varied or a source of so much satisfaction to the individual as during early adolescence. The consciousness of these daydreams, whose contents the boy would often not divulge to anyone, is one of the factors in the tendency to introversion at this period. In our society, with its emphasis upon extroversion, upon "going places and doing things," activity programs in the school, movies, sports, and other diversions outside, it often happens that this period of withdrawal is abridged or abolished altogether, and the child has no opportunity to get a real grasp of the new thoughts and feelings which are a part of the growing-up process. The boy who prides himself upon his popularity and wide

contacts may thus miss a very important step in his psychological development.

Jung has developed also the theory of the four mental "functions," or tools by which we attack reality and make ourselves at home in the world. These four functions are thinking, feeling, perception, and intuition. By "intuition" he does not mean in any sense a mystical quality but merely unconscious perception. We perceive many things of which we are not conscious at the time, and when we do remember them, since we have no knowledge that we have ever perceived them, they seem to us to be what we call intuitions. These functions will differ in their manifestations according as they occur in an extrovert or an introvert. The extroverted boy who is of the thinking type handles facts and may be greatly interested in mathematics or the sciences. The thinking introvert, on the other hand, is interested in philosophy and more abstract subjects. His thinking is less showy and slower than that of the extrovert. He loves to speculate and to search for principles. This type of boy often matures slowly and does not do his best work until after college.

The boy who approaches life through feeling may be illustrated by the old saying that "his head may not serve him very well, but his heart is in the right place." If he is an extrovert, his feeling is likely to display itself in likes and dislikes, loves and hates which may impress the ob-

server as superficial and of brief duration, but he is not likely to make mistakes, and his feelings attach themselves to the proper objects. Because he is an extrovert he is likely to go with the crowd; he likes what his friends like and vice versa; people and objects in general are divided into two classes for him: those that he likes and those that he dislikes; and the feeling itself is sufficient reason to him for his attitude. The introverted feeling type, however, does not wear his heart upon his sleeve, and one often does not know what his feelings are. He is likely to be cool and quiet on the surface and even to gain the reputation of being hard-hearted, but he harbors deep emotions within. Things are not valued in themselves but because of the feelings that they arouse in him; thus he may choose unsuitable companions or insist upon pursuing some unusual subject.

The perceptive extrovert is the fellow who believes that the object of life is to have as many experiences as possible. He delights in seeing and hearing, in drinking and eating, in dancing and in making love. In extreme cases he seems to be interested only in collecting experiences and is eager to try anything once; his judgment is poor and he is likely to be forever getting into disgrace, the despair of his parents and the bane of his teachers. Something of this attitude of desire for experience and aiming at concrete enjoyment is normal during adolescence, but

in many cases it goes entirely too far. Maturity instead of bringing stability and better judgment may bring only the feeling that restraints are off and he can now indulge in acts that were forbidden him before. Punishment or disapproval may mean little to such a boy, because he is pursuing what is to him the normal way of orienting himself to the world. He must be led if possible to develop his inner functions, to have fewer experiences, but to get more out of them, to see in life not just one thing after another but opportunities for deep and lasting enjoyments. The perceptive introvert, on the other hand, may be as interested in objects and experiences as his extroverted brother, but he does not get the same things out of them. He wants to have time to assimilate his experiences and is unhappy if his life is crowded so full that he cannot find time to enjoy each experience to the utmost. Objects are valued not for what they are or for what he sees in them, but what he *sees into* them. Such a boy is likely to make mistakes in the choice of friends because he does not value them for what they are, but for what he thinks they are, and he often suffers bitterly because of his inevitable disillusionment. He acts upon what his friends call preconceived ideas and is apt to hold stubbornly to a course of action even after it is apparent that he is on the wrong track.

The intuitive extrovert is an interesting fellow. He is

likely to have a high degree of popularity, for he senses what his companions wish and can trim his sails and set his course accordingly. He is the fellow with hunches, the politician, the boy who works his parents and teachers almost without their knowing it. His moves are not carefully thought out but are based upon flashes of intuition, and he makes mistakes because he trusts his intuitions, which do not always have a firm basis. Often he can give no other reason for his actions than that it was what he wanted to do, or that he did what he thought was right, and the adult who is accustomed to demanding reasons for things may find his attitude exasperating. The intuitive introvert, on the other hand, is harder still to understand. He is the mystical dreamer, the artist and poet, the philosopher. He may be highly sensitive, indifferent to the social values of his world, but greatly interested in subjects that seem of little value to his companions. Boys of other types find it hard to accept him, and he is apt to be shunned, ridiculed, and even mistreated at their hands. The story of the young Shelley as told by André Maurois is typical of the suffering of such a boy in a boys' school. Not all intuitive introverts are as high strung and sensitive as was Shelley, but it is well to remember that such may be the case.

These psychological types, however, are seldom as clear cut and definite as in the case of the young Shelley.

Though one function and one attitude is usually more prominent than the others, yet the average boy possesses all of them and is apt to display different attitudes in different situations. There are times when a knowledge of the type most natural to the boy is of very great service in understanding him and in guiding his development, but this writer at least does not believe that such knowledge can be obtained from the rating on an "introversion-extroversion scale" or any other type of trait-test that psychology has yet devised. The human personality is exceedingly complex and does not yield its secrets so easily to casual observation.

There are other dispositional tendencies that begin to show themselves markedly in early adolescence. Restlessness, impatience, and short-lived enthusiasms are common and entirely normal; so also are laziness, gluttony, and the silly behavior in which young boys often indulge. Sometimes there is a recrudescence of childish habits that have long been outgrown, such as cruel behavior, sneaking curiosity, a tendency to exhibitionism, or even thumb sucking and nail biting. None of these things is serious in a normal boy if wisely handled. They are symptoms of the boy's struggles to grow up and an indication of how difficult it is for him to let go and face boldly out from the safe harbor of childhood. For the thing that gives to adolescence its peculiar coloring, that marks it with stress

and anxiety and ugliness, as well as with yearning and aspiration and beauty, is just this struggle to grow up, which in the last analysis means the development of the emotional life, the love-life in its widest sense. The boy must break the emotional bonds that have hitherto held him to the family: not that he must cease to love his parents or to consider their welfare and their wishes, but that he must no longer depend upon them in the fashion which he did in childhood. He will form new attachments, make new friends, and most of all begin the search for a mate which will normally culminate in marriage.

Primitive man, as we have seen, recognized the strength of this bond to be family and severed it forcibly. The rule of the women was forever over; in many instances he could never again so much as speak to his mother or look upon her face. There was recognition also of the rivalry between the boy and his father, and the puberty ordeals served their purpose in impressing upon the boy the power and strongly entrenched position of his elders.

Throughout historical times the aim of the boy's education has been largely the same: to cut him off from his childhood while at the same time ensuring his willingness to continue subservient to his father or his representative, i.e., the king, a noble, or the ideal of "the State." There have been civilizations, such as in China, where both parents were regarded with reverence and given al-

legiance so long as they lived and worshiped after they were dead, but in European and Western civilization generally, certainly until recently, woman has been despised as an inferior creature and occupied the status of a child in relation first to her father and then to her husband. The father was the head of the family, and to him the sons owed allegiance so long as he should live. There have been periods in which he had the power of life and death over even his grown sons.

The struggle against this state of affairs has been unceasing; the movements toward democracy, the struggle for liberty, fraternity, and equality is but the translation of this deeper struggle into social terms. To free himself from his infantile emotional dependence upon the mother, to "overcome" the father and stand upon an equal footing with him in manhood, have been the great tasks of the adolescent boy ever since family life began. It is being repeated today on a scale unprecedented in history, in the youth movements in various lands, in the outspoken revolt against convention and authority of our own youth in America. But with the individual boy of the Twentieth Century, how does this struggle work out, and what may we expect within the limits of normality?

As in so many other things that concern human personality, the seeds of this struggle are sown in infancy, and whether or not the boy passes through it easily and

normally, or comes out bearing emotional scars that time itself can scarcely efface, will depend upon his reaction to the people and the environment of his early years. The most important factor in the life of any human being is the family into which he was born, not in the sense of biological and social inheritance, important as they are, but because of the personality of his parents, their own emotional maturity and the attitudes which they assume toward the children. Sentences from personality studies of normal people which the writer has been collecting over a period of ten years illustrate this fact. "My father and mother were so much engrossed in each other that they had little time left for us children. We always felt that we were interlopers." "My parents were very unhappy together, quarreled a great deal, and finally separated when I was six years old. They gave me my choice as to which one I would go with, and I chose my mother because I reasoned that little boys belonged to their mothers more than they did to their fathers. I always felt sorry for her because my father swore so much at her." "My father was extremely jealous of us children and used to pout and sulk because my mother paid more attention to us than to him. I used to hate him for it." "My mother was a childish sort of person and used to neglect me in order to go to parties. She used to lock me up in my bedroom and go out, and I would scream until I

fell asleep from exhaustion. Then I had hideous dreams of animals and burglars trying to get me." "My father, a traveling salesman, was away from home a great deal, and I used to resent exceedingly his attention to my mother during his days at home. Nothing that he could do for me made up for what I believed was my mother's defection."

These attitudes may sink more or less out of sight as the boy grows older and comes to realize his relationship to both parents; throughout childhood, however, it is his mother to whom he remains most attached, who is, as we say, his "chief love object." Adolescence places him under the necessity of transferring this load of affection to some other woman. If he is to live a normal masculine life he must relinquish the mother as the chief love object and seek a mate who will henceforth hold that position for him. The disaster that ensues when the boy is unable to make this transfer is familiar to everybody and is illustrated in the jokes about the pies that mother used to make, and so on. Mothers often hinder the development of the boy's emotional life during adolescence through ignorance of the damage that they are likely to cause or because they deliberately hope to keep his greatest affection for themselves. The mother whose own love life has been thwarted, who has been unable to find in her husband the emotional satisfactions which are her due, is

likely to find in her adolescent son an outlet for her repressed emotions and be exceedingly unwilling to pass him on to another woman. When the mother is widowed or separated from her husband she may turn to her son for comfort and affection and unconsciously load upon him an entirely unsuitable type of love. If she is the dependent "clinging vine" type, the son becomes her protector and mentor and bound to her by ties that he himself seldom understands. She is jealous of his girl friends and disguises the fact under the belief of their unsuitability; she goes with him to college and establishes a home for him there, that he may be properly "taken care of." She accompanies him to games and dances, demands his confidences, and tells her friends proudly that "mother is his sweetheart"; or she may nag and worry him, reproach him with neglecting her, and remind him of the sacrifices that she has made in bringing him into the world. If she is of the prudish type with her emotional life repressed or undeveloped, she may force upon him a totally false attitude toward sex and thus prevent the development of a fully rounded emotional life in the son. Every psychiatrist's office is full of adult men who have never been able to loosen the bonds of their childish affection to their mothers. When such men marry they seek for the same kind of love in their wives to which they have been accustomed in their mothers. If they do not find it,

bewilderment and maladjustment follow. If they do find it, there is still more than likely to be unhappiness and some type of maladjustment. Mr. T—— S——, who at thirty-eight has made a million dollars, still cannot eat a meal that "mamma" has not cooked, and his long-suffering wife is yet a slave to the kitchen. Mr. H—— S——, married ten years, still lives with his mother and has never been able to effect a sexual adjustment to his wife. F—— and W——, confirmed old bachelors in the fifties, have never married because they could not bear to leave their frail little mother. Now that she is dead they are totally at a loss to know what to do next. And so we might go on indefinitely. Of course, no mother deliberately wishes to bring such a fate upon her child. The trouble arises because we ourselves are still adolescent, have not been able to free ourselves from our own infantile attachments, and to face life as emotionally mature adults. It is true that the boy's first attempts to extend his love relationships outside of the family are apt to be crude and full of errors and the parents are rightly concerned over the mistakes that he may make, but patience is usually the better part of valor in such a situation, and the attempt to keep the boy still a child, either by the exercise of authority or by appealing to his emotions, is seldom wise.

Along with the boy's efforts to free himself from his emotional dependence upon the mother goes the readjust-

ment to the father, which sometimes entails a struggle that embitters both father and son for many years or estranges them altogether. Many fathers pay little attention to their children so long as they are little, leaving matters of discipline and training almost entirely to the mother, but when the children reach adolescence and begin to make wider social contacts the father realizes his responsibility and begins to exert his authority. If the father is genuinely interested and makes intelligent attempts to get acquainted with his son, the average boy will meet him halfway, and many of the heartaches of adolescence will be avoided, but with the best of intentions on the father's part this happens all too infrequently. Such a father's attitude is apt to be an "ambivalent" one, that is, it has two aspects, and now one and now the other is uppermost. On the one hand, the boy is his son, loved and valued as a part of himself; his paternal pride expects a great deal from him; life shall make up to him through the son for his own disappointments and failure to achieve his own goal. The reverse of this attitude is the feeling, largely unconscious, that here is a creature who will soon outstrip him, who will succeed where he has failed, who will be carrying on when he himself is "laid on the shelf." His irritation towards the boy is often apparently causeless, and his restrictions unjustified, and such unconscious attitudes will be found back of them. When the father

is too much occupied with business or professional affairs or engrossed in emotional adjustments of his own he may pay too little attention to the boy, which again is likely to result in resentment upon the son's part because he feels that he has a right to affection and interest from his father. For the struggle of the adolescent boy to "overcome" the father is not by any means an effort to put the father in a subordinate place or to free himself from his guidance and authority. What he must overcome is the old childish attitude of fear and jealousy of the father, and what he must attain is a new understanding of his father in the terms of his own developing manhood.

To the parents the tragedy of the struggle for emancipation from the family bond is that it begins so early. Only yesterday the boy was a baby, and his first day at school is still a poignant memory. It seems incredible that the little youngster who a short time ago could not wash his ears and loved to be tucked into bed, should today be fussing over the choice of his neckties and taking girls to parties. The parents have scarcely had time to catch their breath since he was born, and here he is already trying to look and act like a man. We must not forget, however, that to the boy the time has been incredibly long, longer than any comparable period that he will ever again spend; but we cannot set back the clock of time, and for better or worse the boy is growing up, and cer-

tainly he deserves every measure of understanding and sympathetic assistance that we can give him.

The following dream of an adolescent boy expresses in a highly dramatic fashion the whole story of his scarcely conscious struggle for emotional adjustment. It is interesting also because of the symbolism that it employs. To Gerald's conscious knowledge he had never heard or read of the puberty ordeals among primitive people. In the dream he in company with his father and mother started to Chinatown (he lived in New York) to purchase some rare wine which was a sort of elixir of life and had strange medicinal properties. Chinatown, however, was an ancient walled city which could only be approached across a bridge over a wide moat. As they stepped upon the bridge a guard accosted them and told them if they once crossed they could never go back. The parents were hesitant, but finally all three ventured upon the bridge and were struck by the Chinaman with a peculiar short sword which he wore, not in anger but to put a brand upon them and show that they were eligible to be admitted to the city. The mother was frightened and attempted to hold the boy back, but he insisted upon going on. He did not know that the parents were not accompanying him until he reached the other end of the bridge, where another guard placed another mark upon him with his sword, and he learned that the parents had disap-

peared and no one knew anything about them. Gerald, however, could not give up and insisted upon hunting for them. Every place that he went were guards who placed further marks upon him with their swords, but there was no trace of his father or mother, and finally he became aware that he must get acquainted with this strange world in which he found himself. It was apparently wholly self-contained, with no connection with the outside world except by the bridge over which he had come and which he could never again cross. It was bathed in an unearthly radiance, and the buildings, though somewhat similar to the buildings he had known in the outer world, were vastly greater and more beautiful. The people were not all Chinese but scattered among them were others like himself who had forever left the outer world. He soon learned that their customs and manners were different from those in which he had been bred and tried his best to conform to them, but he made many mistakes, and for each mistake he received a blow from one of the short swords which the men carried. Finally, when he was pretty well scarred up with cuts and bruises, he found his way into the most beautiful building of all, where on a raised dais in the great central hall two golden chairs sat, one of which was occupied by the headman. The people were grouped about the hall, the majority of them boys and girls of his own age. As he made

his way across the hall the guards, who were all older men, continued to strike at him with their swords. Each blow signified a mistake in his progress which he was thus able to correct, and so finally reach the dais upon which sat the headman. This resplendent creature now arose and welcomed him and bade him be seated in the other chair. "You are now my heir," he said, "and I will disclose to you the secrets of the kingdom."

This dream is sketched in its bare outline. It contained a great wealth of detail very logically worked out and occurred in a practical-minded boy of the extroverted type who was himself greatly astonished that he was capable of producing such a fantasy, but we see here beautifully expressed the crossing of the bridge which leads from childhood to manhood, the effort of the mother to hold him back, and at first his frantic search for the parents who were lost. Neither of them was ever found again under the old guise, but the mother was reincarnated in a beautiful maiden whom he later chose as she who would some day be his wife, while the father appeared again as the headman who proclaimed him his heir and co-equal with him in the ruling of the kingdom.

Another dream which epitomizes the boy's struggle to free himself from the domination of the father was dreamed by a boy whose father had been very severe, demanding obedience to his authority and blocking every

move that William made for independence. The boy stammered, and in the course of treatment for this condition his home difficulties were uncovered. In his fantasy William saw a scene which he described as primitive, apparently an opening in the jungle where a group of people sat about a camp fire. At the left and apart from the group stood a young man dressed in a peculiar green garment. The young man was apparently trying to get away from the group, but an older man dressed in a skin came forward and disputed his right to do so. For a weapon he had an ax which the boy struck out of his hand, and they engaged in a severe struggle. The youth was getting the worse of it when suddenly he stepped back a moment and snatched up an object at his feet. This object proved to be a large green snake which, again approaching the older man, he flung at him. It coiled about the man's neck, and he turned and fled down into the forest back of the camp fire. William was much disturbed over this dream, feeling, as he said, that it had a peculiar meaning for him. It was explained to him that the snake is a universal symbol of masculine strength and power and that the dream showed him the way actually to overcome his father: that is, by developing his own manly qualities and ceasing to be afraid of his father's superior power and ability.

This struggle for emancipation from the family, then,

goes on more or less unconsciously for several years in the healthy-minded boy and accounts for many of the traditional difficulties of early adolescence. The self-assertive attitude, the disobedience of parental commands and wishes, the officiousness and tendency to argumentation, the know-it-all attitude that is so trying, the open contempt for father and mother as "old fogies" are all parts of the picture and under normal circumstances can be trusted to right themselves in a few years. Sometimes when there has been throughout childhood what appears to be an ideal situation with deep affection and harmony and confidences freely given, the boy develops irritation, with swings of mood from his old self over to periods of apparently unmotivated gusts of temper and unreasonable behavior. Sometimes there are depressions. In many cases we have found this behavior to have no relation to the actual situation but to be a reflection of the boy's struggle with himself, between the urge to grow up, to develop the habits and attitudes of adolescence, and the strong pull that he feels to remain in the safe shelter of his happy childhood. As such a boy remarked not long ago, "My home is too happy, I don't want ever to leave it, and then I get mad at myself to think that I feel that way, because I know I could never be a man if I didn't."

By middle adolescence things have begun to settle down, dad and mother are reasonable people, better than

most parents. His home is a jolly place where he can bring his friends and be sure of a welcome. His brothers and sisters are tolerated, if they do not meet his open approval, and his interest in girls has reached the stage of dates and petting parties. From now on the solution of his problems will lie increasingly in his own hands. What the other fellows are doing, the standards and ideals of his contemporaries, the wishes of his sweetheart are of more and more importance to him. His parents may be only twenty years his senior, but they belong to the older generation, and it is very difficult for them to become a part of his. Indeed, he does not wish them to. He wants their sympathy, their counsel, his assurance of their confidence and understanding, but he does not wish them to have a much more active share in this new life which is so peculiarly his own. The contempt of the adolescent boy for the mother who tries to act "like a chicken," or for the father who, forgetting what the boy considers his age and dignity, plays around with young girls, passes all bounds. He is the harshest critic of his parents' behavior. He can forgive much, but not this infringement upon what he considers his own domain.

But the girl problem, viewed from another standpoint, is apt to concern the parents very much. The type of girls whom he chooses for his friends, the amount of time and interest that he bestows upon them, the money that

he spends, are naturally matters of considerable concern to the parents. The boy's first adventures with the opposite sex may occur early or be postponed until he feels a little surer of his ability at courting and love-making. He is likely to be much occupied with dreams and fantasies of girls even while he openly scorns "skirts" and continues to be a regular boy. He may have a "crush" on an older woman, a teacher or someone else who is all too plainly a mother substitute, or his first "case" may be with a girl of his own age. The "moon calf" and his "calf love" have been the object of satire and ridicule for generations, yet there is no step more necessary for the young adolescent to take than this beginning transfer of his affections outside the family. Normally it will culminate in marriage and the founding of a family, but there is a long road to be traversed, and there are many pitfalls along the way, before the average boy reaches this consummation.

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Chapter VI

Problems of the Normal Youth

His sex life and love relationships—Auto-eroticism or "masturbation"—The importance of phantasy—Actual dangers of this period—The boy's experiences with homosexuality—Development of homosexual attitudes—Unconscious attachments or "fixations"—Various methods of handling them—Relationship with the opposite sex—Sex temptations of the average boy—Prostitution—Petting and necking—Venereal disease—Alcohol and sex—The vocational problem—The unconscious determinants of vocational choices—Aids to intelligent choice—Problems of leisure and recreation—The development of hobbies—The problem of religion—Boy's need for religious experience—His attitude toward his own problems.

We have taken a glance at the difficulties that may beset the adolescent boy, of the snares and pitfalls that lie in wait for his unwary feet. We have seen, too, that as parents and teachers we may chart a course for his normal development, growing out of what we know of his psychology, and look on as calmly as possible while he attempts to follow it. But how little we often know, after all, of his own mental attitudes and even of his activities; many of them, to be sure, he does not wish us to know,

he has an instinctive feeling that we will not understand, and it is quite true that a disinterested person is often in a position to give him more help than those more closely connected with him; and so he takes counsel of his contemporaries or struggles with his problems alone, believing that they are peculiar to himself. Thus he finds the developmental period beset with difficulties which might be easily cleared away if he knew where to turn for aid and understanding.

The problems which are peculiarly within the province of the adolescent boy, and which in some fashion or other he must settle by the time maturity is reached if he is going to enter upon it with any degree of self-assurance and self-control, are largely concerned with the matter of his sex life and his love relationships. New aspects of the matter emerge as he grows older, and his adjustment to them depends in great measure upon the way he has been able to handle the earlier problems. As we have seen, the first great problem in the sex sphere to engage the boy's attention about the time of puberty is the problem of auto-eroticism or masturbation. The amount and type of self-experimentation engaged in by young boys who are essentially normal is known to few except the psychiatrist. Unless something happens to bring them to light, the facts themselves are usually forgotten as the boy grows older; he has a sense of guilt and shame con-

nected with them and does his best to forget about them. But the aspect of the matter which we hear least about but which concerns him most and is most important for his future development is the type of fantasy in which he indulges during his periods of auto-eroticism. The ability to fantasy, to see mental pictures or to imagine one's self in certain situations and carrying out certain actions is a fundamental tendency of the human mind. The young child often has this ability to such an extent that he can project his fancies and see them as if they were actual objects. Many children have imaginary playmates or companions who are as real to them as any one else in their environment, though they usually know that they are not creatures of flesh and blood. As he grows into childhood and reality becomes more attractive to him, the average child probably occupies himself less and less with fantasy, although there are certainly many children of the thoughtful or introverted type who continue to weave fantasies and to build up imaginary situations all through their childhood. As puberty approaches there is a recrudescence, a springing up anew of the fantasy life, which now begins to play its part in the service of sex. Sex scenes and situations of one sort or another are very apt to picture themselves, sometimes apparently without the boy's volition, and he may become so disturbed over this that, as we have seen, he even turns to delinquency. This

probably does not happen except in oversensitive boys. The average boy, finding that pictures of girls and women come into his mind in connection with his sex activities, may worry over it, struggle futilely to shut them out, and finally accept them as a more or less natural part of what he nearly always considers his depravity in indulging in auto-erotic activities; thus he is unconsciously reënforcing the childish tendencies to consider the sex act upon a low plane. Again, he may be obsessed by pictures of girls or women whom he highly respects or loves and despise himself accordingly. If he has had sex experiences of any kind with either girls or boys, he is likely to relive these scenes in fantasy. A tremendous sense of guilt is apt to attach to pubertal fantasies, a guilt often entirely out of proportion to the nature of the fantasies themselves, and it is this that gives them their importance.

There may be other fantasies that puzzle or alarm the boy, pictures or scenes that seem to come from nowhere and to have no connection with his conscious life. One boy of the writer's acquaintance was greatly distressed because he found himself apparently seeing every girl or woman whom he met undressed. Another, after reading Indian stories, found himself seeing vivid pictures of Indians torturing white people; these pictures had a terrible fascination for him, and he became so obsessed with them that it was difficult for him to keep his mind upon

his school work or his other tasks. Still another boy was greatly worried by leering faces which popped up in his mind at unexpected moments. The fantasy faculty may be in abeyance through the daytime, but the boy is worried by vivid dreams at night, sometimes of a frankly sexual nature and sometimes taking other forms. Sex dreams grow more frequent as he succeeds in overcoming the tendency to masturbate, and if he is uninstructed he may feel that he is merely exchanging one evil for another. Much misery can be saved if it is explained to him that such dreams with their accompanying emissions are nature's methods of taking care of his sex life.

There is no question but that the psychic or mental effects of masturbation are of far more importance in the normal boy than the physical effects, which are almost completely negligible in the average case. There is almost sure to be a sense of loss and wastage, and the feeling of fatigue and the tendency to sleepiness after the act may lend additional weight to his fear that he is weakening himself and in danger of "losing his manhood." There are still many boys who fall a prey to quacks and unscrupulous persons who play upon their fears and take their money or even introduce them to perversions, which they teach them are better than what they are doing. The better class of magazines and newspapers no longer publish the advertisements of these charlatans, but the num-

ber of periodicals that do publish them leads one to infer that they still have considerable patronage. The actual danger in masturbation is that a boy of the introverted type, naturally shy and finding it difficult to make contacts with girls, may turn more and more to the habit, solacing himself with daydreams for his inability to make the actual conquests of which he dreams, and thus becoming more and more turned in upon himself. The best safeguard against the continuation of the habit beyond its normal period is the cultivation of many interests, healthy play, especially of the outdoor variety, and an interesting social life with both boys and girls. The boy should know, too, that he will find self-control easier as he grows older.

Another problem with which every boy comes in contact sometime during his adolescence is that of homosexuality. We have already discussed this in some of the preceding chapters, but we are here concerned with the way in which the boy himself handles the matter. In early adolescence or late childhood, especially if he lives in a city and goes about more or less alone, he is quite likely to be approached by some man or older boy who stimulates his curiosity with vague suggestions or offers to take him on excursions, buy him presents, and so on. In boys' schools and camps, too, not infrequently the young adolescent is annoyed by the advances of other boys or

men. He may have only the vaguest notion of what it is all about, and his curiosity is likely to prompt him to attempt to find out. According to the foundations already laid in the boy's character, these experiences may be followed by an overwhelming sense of guilt, by a desire to experiment further, or by feelings of disgust and the effort to forget the whole thing as something for which he was not responsible and which has served to "put him wise" to some of the vagaries of the grown-up world. If he is a healthy-minded boy with opportunity for normal association with girls, the matter soon ceases to trouble him, though he may be aware of homosexual groups in his environment and occasionally be subjected to annoyances from their members. But it is not homosexuality in its overt aspects that forms the greatest problem of the adolescent boy. The very strength of his feelings of horror and disgust towards the matter, the terrible feelings of guilt that may overtake him upon merely thinking about it, are indications of the strong unconscious attractions that homosexuality exercises upon him. We do not fight against or flee from things that hold no danger for us, and the horror, disgust or guilty feelings are barriers set up by nature to protect the boy against something which is tied up with exceedingly strong emotional drives or impulses, which he does not recognize in their true light. This may seem a far-fetched doctrine, but

anyone who is well acquainted with the inner life of adolescent boys is aware of its essential truthfulness. Let us examine the matter a little more closely.

We have already noted the existence in all of us of a certain amount of homosexuality, of interest in those of our own sex. There are several ways in which this normal attitude may become exaggerated and result in an incapacity to make a full and complete transfer of affection to a member of the opposite sex. We have already taken a glimpse at some of these ways; we have seen that our love attitudes develop during early life and a child's early experiences are all powerful in molding the direction of his interests, even into his later years. In general there are three ways in which a homosexual attitude may become established: by too great fixation upon the mother, upon the father, or upon the child's self as a love object. When the little boy grows up with an excessive amount of love and interest centered upon his mother, idealizing her either as she appears now, or, as more frequently happens, as she was in his earliest memories of her, he may transfer this attitude to all women. They become high and holy creatures, unattainable, and just as he could not think of sex in connection with his affection for his mother, so he cannot think of it in relation to other women. They are all in a sense forbidden to him as sexual objects. He may have hosts of girl friends who

consider him a good pal or a chum, ready to play around with them and do their bidding; he is quite likely to be interested in girls' activities, to understand them and to receive their confidences, but they do not take him seriously as a lover. As he grows older, sees other boys and girls pairing off, or as his girl friends begin to get married, he may have considerable conflict within himself, realizing that his attitude is different, while he scarcely knows how. Or such a boy may hold aloof from girls, dreaming of an ideal, more or less unconsciously seeking her all the time but never finding her; until he does find her, no girl can please him. During adolescence his sexuality, denied the normal outlets of courtship and love making, remains in the homosexual stage, and he is tormented with doubts and fears, fantasies and vague impulses which he scarcely understands. He may be an ideal son and an excellent student, a young man of irreproachable character; art or music or some other forms of esthetic enjoyment may form an outlet for him, and as he grows older he may work out some more or less satisfactory mode of life for himself, but his experiences during adolescence are apt to be unhappy ones. Again, such a boy may develop into a Don Juan, falling violently in love with one girl after another, only to find upon closer acquaintance that not one of them fulfills his ideal. Ernest W——, who was engaged to seven girls during his college course

and compelled by his fraternity brothers to marry the seventh, is a type whom we have all met. The marriage of such a boy can seldom be happy, for, all other considerations aside, it is impossible for him to find his ideal woman.

The fixation of the boy upon his mother may, however, work in a directly opposite fashion: that is, instead of an idealized love of women, he may have a quite active hatred of them. This happens when his affection for the mother has been repulsed or when he realizes, even though unconsciously, that his love for her is a source of weakness rather than of strength. In his efforts to free himself from it he shuns all women as creatures who would sap his strength and render him weak and childlike again.

Too great fixation upon the father results in an analogous manner with an idealization of him and a correspondingly great interest in and affection for other men. Masculine pursuits, interests, and ideals of achievement are the things which the boy in this case values most; he is indifferent to girls and feels himself a man's man. He seeks friendship and intimacies with older men, is active in clubs and fraternal organizations, or he may find outlets in religion for his father worship. He is likely to look down upon other boys and to thank God that he is not bothered with a sex problem. He feels him-

self mature and manly, competent to give advice to other boys or to act as proctor to a group. If he is more inclined to introversion he will worship from afar, idealize his teachers or other men, dream of heroes in literature or history, or throw himself with fervor into religious activities. In neither case may the parent in actuality be the type of person to be greatly admired or loved, though such a condition is usually fostered by the overindulgent parent who pours upon the child an excess of affection. It is not the parent as the adolescent is actually acquainted with him or her who is the powerful drive behind this attitude, but the father or mother of his earliest recollection, the creatures who were all wise and wonderful, who supplied his every want and about whom his universe revolved. These ideal parents live on in his dreams and fancies, even though he himself may be totally unaware of their source.

Perhaps the most frequent cause of the homosexual attitude, however, is to be found in an extension of the love and admiration of the boy's own personality to those most like himself, or other boys. This, as we have seen, is the normal course of events in early adolescence, but also in the normal course of events this stage should be left behind, but all too often it is not. The boy's friends are valued because of their resemblance to himself or because he sees in them qualities which he has admired in himself.

In occupying himself continually with the problems and interests of other boys he is still in a sense concerned with his own, and he can gain a popularity and social acclaim in devoting himself to other boys which he could not have were he to devote such attention to himself. This very attitude gives him a sympathy and an understanding which the boy who has outgrown these problems does not possess. If the boy's own self-love has been wounded, he can rationalize his attitude by thinking that he wishes to help other boys avoid the difficulties that he has encountered. He becomes an active worker or a leader in boys' organizations, or devotes himself passionately to the reformation of some boy or group of boys. Girls enter but little into his scheme of things, unless by chance he finds one that embodies the attributes which he loves or wishes for in himself. As a rule he gets on poorly with girls, who consider him self-centered and unwilling to meet them halfway.

When the unconscious homosexual drive is very strong, there is sure to be internal turmoil which the boy himself is the last one to understand. He may resort to various methods of handling the situation which make matters worse instead of better: alcoholism and drug addiction, eccentric pursuits and occupations, extreme religiosity and nervous breakdowns are some of the ways of handling this conflict. To condemn a boy for any of these

things without a realization of what may lie behind it is of no value either to him or to the community. We must remember, too, that throughout adolescence the boy's emotional life is quite plastic, and that many a ruined career could have been saved if we could have provided the help and guidance that such boys need at this period.

But the thing of greatest importance in the life of the average boy during adolescence is his relationship with the opposite sex. To be popular with girls, to learn how to conduct himself in the presence of their mothers, the complicated techniques of courtship, to know how to choose his mate, to penetrate the final great mysteries of sex and creation, these are the things which loom the largest in the mind of the normal boy. Here again his path is beset with dangers. There are so many things that he wishes to know and the sources of reliable information are so few; his elders are so frequently embarrassed in the discussion of these questions that he prefers not to ask them; books are usually very unsatisfactory; lectures are often even more so, while his contemporaries, for all their show of knowledge, are as bewildered as himself. From the amount and kind of sex discussion that he hears among them he often gets the impression that he alone is lacking in sex experience and may be seriously concerned because he feels himself thereby so different from his mates, for in this, as in all

other matters, the behavior of his mates means more to him than the precepts of his elders.

The amount of sex temptation to which the adolescent boy is exposed almost anywhere he can go is usually quite unknown to his mother, forgotten by his father, and ignored by his teachers. The sex magazines and the movies inflame his imagination, girls of his own social group provoke and tantalize him, girls of another class accost him on the street or ogle him at public dances. These things are the objects of endless discussion among his boy friends and too often the subject of his own furtive adventures. If he tries to be honest and outspoken, to go about finding out about these things in a sensible way, as he would investigate other phenomena, he is cried down, told he is but a youth and must be guarded against such knowledge. In some way or other he must learn to reckon with the hypocritical attitude of our society towards sex.

Perhaps he does not so often nowadays have to reckon with the ugly fact of prostitution, yet the institution still flourishes, and while a boy can be directed by a casual bootblack to the nearest house we cannot shut our eyes to its menace. Most boys meet it whether it forms one of their major temptations or not. We have already spoken in an earlier chapter of the tendency of a man's love life to be split, as it were, so that he keeps sex ex-

pression for a woman of a lower social class or one whom he can despise as a lower creature, while he reserves love, respect, and even adoration for women of his own class. History would indicate that this tendency to the splitting of the love life has been almost universal among civilized people. Passionate love was reserved for the mistress or the concubine, while the wife was respected and became the head of her husband's household and the mother of his children. In many places it was even considered profanation to bestow passionate love upon the wife. Prostitution is the institutionalized expression of this tendency to splitting. Holding his wife in high esteem and taught to believe devoutly in his own sex needs and their difference from hers, man could transfer to the prostitute his own burden of guilt and shame arising from his early teachings and despise her as on a level with his own base desires. Romantic love, that is, passionate love between a boy and girl who are suitable mates, who desire marriage and expect this love to continue after marriage, is a recent development in the history of the race and all too infrequent even yet. Marriages are still arranged on a basis of convenience or suitability or in order to unite families or fortunes, and will continue to be so arranged until boys and girls become really free and responsible creatures and capable of making proper choices. As long as this condition exists, prostitution and

other forms of sex relationship outside of marriage will continue to exist. However, it is certainly true that prostitution does not thrust itself so persistently upon the boy's attention as it did a generation ago. The normal youth in a good environment visits such "houses" far less frequently than formerly and his contacts with a prostitute are apt to be casual ones. He may go once out of curiosity or led by a consuming desire to find out if he is "all right," but he is apt to be ashamed of these visits and to leave the prostitute for less fortunate boys. He turns to love affairs and petting parties with girls of his own social class, or at least to girls who consider themselves respectable.

The institution of petting has come in for a vast amount of censure and condemnation in the last few years. A generation ago we called it "spooning" and considered it bad taste when it was done in public, which, however, it frequently was. Earlier than that it had various other names, but the tendency of a boy and girl to seek some form of physical contact with each other is apparently spontaneous and natural and is Dame Nature's prize method of getting them enough interested in each other to wish for closer contact. But girls of the better classes were formerly taught that such caressing was highly improper and that they should tolerate no advances from a boy until after an engagement had been

consummated. Along with this teaching went the effort to keep the girl ignorant of sexual matters until her marriage. To be sure, in peasant communities and in pioneer communities in general such rigorous supervision of the girl as to prevent all close acquaintance with boys was impracticable and was never very generally carried out, but since the World War, owing largely to the increased economic freedom of women, girls of all classes have taken things very largely into their own hands and molded their conduct to suit themselves. The girl of his own social class has always set the pace for the boy; willy-nilly he must conform to her standards and go no further than she permitted; so now, when he found her willing to meet him halfway, he was not slow to take advantage of the fact.

Much has been said and written on the subject of petting within recent years, ranging from bitter attacks upon its "horrors" by clergymen, psychologists, college professors, and so on, up to its defense by others of the same professions, who regard it as not only harmless but a means by which young people can get better acquainted with each other, and even as a desirable preparation for marriage. There is probably something to be said on both sides. Looked at from the biological standpoint, petting or caressing in all its forms is a normal preliminary to the sex act and is designed to get the organism

in readiness for it. It delays the rush into sex relations for which the physical urge blindly strives, and serves to develop and heighten the mental and emotional attitudes which in civilized people accompany sex expression; but the adolescent convention of petting is used not as a preliminary to the sex act but as a pseudo-substitute for it, as a means of working off tense emotions. If it can be thus used and the boy after a petting party feels happier and more comfortable, if he is able to put his attention upon his work without disturbing thoughts, it would seem to be doing him for the time being at least no harm; but if it stimulates him so that he is wrought up and miserable for hours thereafter and unable to get his mind off the subject of sex it would seem to be doing harm. When the petting is carried so far that it becomes an actual substitute for the sex act with a corresponding relief of tension, we have a situation which may not be of so much consequence to the boy when he marries and wishes to carry through complete sexual intercourse; but owing to the different sexual constitution of women marriage may be exceedingly difficult for the girl who has accustomed herself to "heavy petting." In this, as in so many other things, civilized people cannot be guided by blind indulgence in their selfish desires but must consider the consequences of their acts upon other people. If the boy has formed the habit from childhood up of consideration

for others, and if in addition he has a clean and wholesome knowledge not only of a man's sex life but that of girls and women, he will have the best safeguard that we can give him against overindulgence in petting.

We must remember, however, that mere knowledge of facts, no matter how extensive, can give him little knowledge of the overmastering power of the sex emotions as they develop in early adolescence. Until we have experienced an emotion we do not know what it is; we may know all about its physiological effects and its effects upon behavior, but until we ourselves have experience of an emotion of any kind, we can only look on from the outside at its manifestations in someone else. This accounts for the fact that boys who have been carefully instructed in all the facts of sex and who would seem well prepared to handle their own sex problems may be quite swept away by the strength of their emotions during adolescence and have as much difficulty in handling them as boys who have known less. As parents and teachers we would be saved much humiliation if we could but appreciate this fact.

Not only his present relations with girls but his future ones are of great concern to the adolescent boy. In conferences with young people of both sexes questions are continually asked regarding the age of marriage, the feasibility of long engagements, the desirability of birth

control, the optimum number of children, and if the group is not a mixed one, much more intimate questions are sure to be asked. Normal young people are looking forward to marriage within a few years, and any prudery which denies them the right to ask questions relating to marriage with its privileges and duties is certainly not to be commended. Prudery, which is at bottom an unwillingness to face facts, a desire to hold on to our fairyland of wishes and desires rather than to make our way about in the cold lands of reality, should have no place in the education of the adolescent boy. In this connection the words of Browning are pertinent:

"The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's is,
Not to fancy what were fair in life provided it could be,
But first find out what is,
Then how to make it fair,
Up to our means."

One more problem relating to the sex life confronts the adolescent boy, and that is the problem of venereal disease. The mystery and secrecy with which the matter is still surrounded does not help him very much in coming to understand it. Whether or not it will ever concern him directly, as a citizen, a taxpayer, and a member of the community it will concern him mightily. The boy

should learn the two main divisions of venereal disease, and that syphilis and gonorrhea are seldom contracted in any other way than by direct sexual contact. He should learn that they are responsible for the great majority of pelvic and abdominal disease in women and are the greatest cause of their sterility or inability to bear children; that paresis, which forms the second largest group of admissions to our mental hospitals, is a result of syphilitic infection affecting the brain and central nervous system; that syphilis at least is curable in its early stages, and that its diagnosis by means of laboratory tests is simple; and that there are still states and communities in which a venereal disease is not reportable: that is, a physician who discovers the presence of venereal disease in a patient is not obliged to report it to the Board of Health as he would report a case of tuberculosis or other infectious disease. The venereal diseases are the most virulent and widespread of all infectious diseases and are responsible for a large part of the physical and mental misery of the human race, largely because of the ignorance and superstition of mankind, an ignorance and superstition which has no place in our modern society but which, alas! still flourishes. We know enough to eradicate the venereal diseases from the earth in a comparatively short time if we could apply to them the common-sense methods that have been used in combating the other infectious

diseases. Yet because they are diseases of the reproductive system and have to do with sex, we think it is impossible to approach them in a common-sense manner. When we reflect upon their enormous cost in money, in suffering, and in human life, it would seem that we ought to put our prejudices aside and give place to common sense.

We cannot leave the subject of sex problems as they confront the adolescent boy without mention of the part that alcohol plays in the matter of sexual maladjustments and in difficulties that may arise in a normal sex life. The connection between alcohol and venereal disease is clearly demonstrated wherever statistics are obtainable. Under the influence of alcohol a boy will do many things from which in his sober moments he would shrink with disgust or distaste. He is ready for adventures against which his common sense would guard him at other times, and a venereal disease may be the price which he pays for an evening's carouse. There are people upon whom alcohol has what we call a pathological effect; a very small amount brings on a mental confusion during which the person does things of which he has no recollection whatsoever a few hours later. There are other types in which alcohol brings out latent homosexual tendencies; indeed, the connection between alcoholism and homosexuality has often been noticed. There are other

types for whom the stimulus of alcohol is necessary to release inhibitions and make them feel themselves men, the timid, childish personalities who are unable to face life alone but must have the prop of a stimulant. Alcoholism and drug addiction have long been regarded by the psychiatrist as symptoms of a maladjusted personality, and the boy who aspires to deal with life from the standpoint of a normal and well integrated personality will find not an ally but an enemy in alcohol or any other stimulant.

Important as sexual problems are to the adolescent boy, they are by no means the only problems that occupy his attention. The problem of vocation, his occupation or profession looms exceedingly large, and sometime during adolescence he is usually compelled to make a vocational choice. It is the rare boy who knows just what he wants to do and drives straight toward it from childhood. Usually he has vocational fads, deciding now upon this and now upon that, and he often does not make a deliberate choice but takes the line of least resistance and falls into an occupation for which he has little aptitude or liking, and may find it hard to withdraw from that and find something else. To find a vocation in which one can not only make his living, but into which he can put his very self, can feel that he is achieving and creating something, expressing himself in the fullest sense of the

word, becomes a problem requiring a great deal of intelligent thought. Comparatively few people find such a vocation. It is only recently that we have made any attempt to help young people to find their vocational niche in life, and all too often these efforts have become formalized and grow into little more than efforts at placement, with small regard for the potentialities of the personality, if indeed it is recognized at all.

All too often the parents' wishes carry an undue weight with the child, for one reason or another. The father who has been balked in his own vocational desires may plan to realize them in the child. The boy is headed toward a certain occupation or profession from his infancy, and he knows that it will be a source of great disappointment or sorrow to the parent if he refuses to carry out his plans for him. He may have little bent or desire for the particular vocation but allows himself to be headed into it rather than face the parental displeasure. Charles Z——, whose father, grandfather, and great grandfather have been physicians, had always heard it taken for granted that he would follow the family tradition. His first year at medical school was a nightmare, and early in his second year he was referred to the psychiatrist, who found him on the verge of an hysterical attack because he felt it impossible to go on and equally impossible not to go on. Charles was a shrewd, intelligent lad who

could see perfectly well that his father, having made but a poor physician himself was hoping to retrieve the family reputation in his son, but such was his attachment to his father that he did not feel that he could displease him, and he decided to return to school and attempt to graduate. The son of the hard-headed business man, destined to be his father's successor but who has no taste whatsoever for business and insists upon an artistic pursuit, has formed the subject of many a story and is often enough met with in real life. The man who has come up from the ranks, accustomed to hard, grinding toil and who has built up a business or industry by the sweat of his brow, may have a vast contempt for what he deems the soft life that his son prefers.

The reasons why a boy prefers one type of vocation to another are usually not on the surface and often are quite unknown to himself. The boy may consciously wish to please the parents, as in the case of Charles, or he may have an unconscious identification with one parent or the other which leads him to wish to be exactly like that parent. This is not the only way in which the identification works, for he may wish to excel or to overcome the parent and to choose a vocation in which he can express his superiority. Mr. G—— H——, a man of thirty-eight, who was pursuing a rather unusual vocation for which he seemed poorly adapted, had carried on a lifelong

struggle against the domination of his father. In the course of a personality study he made the, to him, amazing discovery that he had chosen his father's vocation for the express purpose of showing the old gentleman that he could be a greater success in it than the parent had been. On the other hand, the boy is sometimes driven to be as far different from his father as possible. A mechanism of this sort underlies the case mentioned above, in which the son of the rough-and-ready self-made man who expects the boy to carry on in his vocation insists on being a writer, artist, or on taking up some other "high-brow" occupation.

His teachers and other persons whom he admires often influence the boy strongly to enter upon their occupations or ones for which they express a preference. Again, he may be so strongly drawn to a certain vocation because it has a special meaning for him, even though he may be unaware of it. His occupation may become a means of protection against the unconscious urge to behavior of which his better self disapproves. A vocation which stresses the ideals he would like to hold before himself gives him a feeling of security and has an appeal which other more attractive occupations might lack; thus the reformed drunkard becomes a great temperance orator and the reformed libertine a great saint of the Church. The boy, however, in choosing the fields of political or

social reform or the ministry may have no conscious realization of tendencies in himself which would make it easy for him to go in the other direction, but studies have shown that in many cases this is the motive behind the choice of occupation.[1] Again, a vocation or occupation may be understood as the sublimation of certain tendencies, which, innocent enough in themselves, would not have social approval if displayed openly by an adult. The actor can indulge his love of display to his heart's content; the research man in the natural sciences can occupy himself with the secrets of nature; the beauty specialist and the designer of women's clothing can indulge the feminine side of their natures and perform socially useful actions at the same time.

Thus it will be seen that the boy's choice of a vocation involves many things, some of which lie within his knowledge and control and some of them outside of it. Society owes it to him to make his intelligent choice possible by providing an opportunity for him to get acquainted with various types of occupations and forms of work. To allow boys to drift into occupations for which they are entirely unsuited has now little excuse and is one of the most fruitful sources of social discontent.

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[1] In this connection see PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND POLITICS, by Harold B. Lasswell, a study of the unconscious motives among political agitators and reformers.

Young people should have an opportunity to sample a dozen different occupations if they so desire, and this should be done while they are still in school, because afterwards they are too apt to be caught by the necessity, real or fancied, of making money and so fastened into an occupation which has little appeal for them. Knowing a boy's intelligence, his aptitudes and abilities, his type of mind and his interests and desires, the vocational counselor may be of great service to him by bringing him in contact with suitable occupations and pointing out to him their advantages and disadvantages. Youths are not nearly so prone to ask how much money there is in it as are their elders. An interesting job with the opportunity for advancement rightly means more to them than the immediate pecuniary satisfaction, though in a society where a man's success is measured very largely by his salary the latter cannot be overlooked. If the youth has a strong inclination toward a certain vocation or type of work he should be allowed to try it, no matter how unsuitable his elders may deem it to be, for, as noted above, an occupation may carry a meaning for him which is by no means apparent to the observer. We may add also that the vocational counselor should know something of the mechanisms that underlie adolescent choices, such as have been discussed above.

But in this machine-age civilization it is inevitable that

countless thousands of boys should find themselves in occupations which call for exercise of little intelligence or creative ability. They will learn a routine task and perform it more or less automatically, earning a living thereby but missing completely the satisfactions that accrue from handling concrete materials or situations or from seeing something take shape and grow under their hands. More and more vocations are becoming merely the means to a livelihood, while the real satisfactions of life must be sought outside during leisure hours. The problems of leisure and recreation become more important yearly, and if the present trend continues, in another decade or two the shortened working day and working week will leave the community with a superabundance of leisure time upon its hands. Education must provide for that leisure, theoretically so valuable but often actually worse than wasted, and leaving man worse off than he was when most of his waking hours were occupied with labor. How can the youth of today in high school or college or out on his own in industry use his leisure to good advantage and prepare for a future in which he is likely to have more of it?

Modern city life or the life of a large high school or university is but little conducive to leisure. The emphasis is upon activity, and one is likely to be drawn into a whirl which keeps him busy but may be of little value

otherwise. Recreation, to be of value, must provide the proper contrast to one's accustomed work, must release energy and provide emotional joy and satisfaction. The difference between work and play is mostly a matter of mental attitude; competitive sports often become exceedingly hard work and cease to be recreation, while the work one loves may be truly recreative. But sports and games are the prerogative of youth and the movement at present in the colleges to give all boys who are physically fit an opportunity to engage in them is a hopeful sign of the times. No school has done its duty until it has seen to it that all its students have a chance to play, and enough opportunities for play should be provided so that each boy may find that which he can enjoy the most and from which he can receive most profit.

But active play should be balanced by other and quieter activities, chief among which is recreational reading. It is often said that the movies and the radio have destroyed the taste of the young for literature, and it is probably true that the average boy of today reads less than his father did a generation ago. At the same time there is a wider range of interesting reading than ever before, and the boy who forms the habit of reading for recreation has an imaginative release at hand which is afforded by nothing else. In all our larger cities and in many smaller ones the public libraries now have "children's rooms" and

librarians specially trained to help them find suitable books; the better magazines sponsor reviews of books for children and young people, while bookstores take care to display a great wealth of worth-while reading. The boy who has formed a taste for good literature in his childhood will be less likely to fall back upon the ineffable trash that fills the bookstalls in our railway stations, subways, and drugstores.

Youth is also the time for the development of hobbies. Boys are likely to go through a period of fads and crazes, being intensely interested for the time being in something which is completely forgotten a little later. In this way they may get acquainted with many things which in later life may serve as hobbies, as useful outlets for surplus energy, or as a balance for work. In general we do well to bring our boys in contact with a wide range of sports and games and other activities which may serve in later life as hobbies or avocations. Many a man has kept sane because, when life pressed upon him almost too heavily to be borne, he could go fishing. The time a boy spends in the pursuit of hobbies is by no means wasted: he is insuring for himself a fuller and richer life with wide interests and the ability to find satisfaction in divers ways when a main line of interest may fail.

The time is probably near at hand when the school will have to take cognizance of the fact that training in

activities in which leisure time can be profitably employed has become one of its major functions. Perhaps then we shall be willing to concede that education should be cultural as well as practical, and that its main purpose is to fit the child not merely to make a living but to make a life.

It is sometimes implied in discussions of adolescence that the modern youth has no religious problems, but those with a wide acquaintance with boys and girls will scarcely agree. It is true that many of the old religious problems no longer have a meaning for the average adolescent, but he is just as much under the necessity of coming to terms with life as he ever was, and that, after all, is the essence of religion. He is not so much concerned with heaven and hell as with his place in the universe; the meaning and purpose of life, whence we all come, and whither we are bound are still questions of paramount importance to the adolescent boy, even though he may not phrase them in this manner. The religious attitudes of loyalty and devotion to a person or a cause, though they may not so often express themselves through church activities, are just as frequent as they ever were; and the yearning for higher things—the longing for something only vaguely sensed, for experiences which lie outside his grasp—is probably present in every adolescent at some time or other.

We are living in an extroverted society, and even in the churches the religious training that we give our youths today is more apt to put the emphasis upon the extroverted side. Guilds, leagues, and societies, activities of all sorts, fill up the program until the inner needs are often crowded quite out of sight. But it is just these inner needs that are so very strong at this period. The load of guilt, conscious or not, that practically every boy carries; the need for reconciliation, for setting himself right with life, which he feels in the way of unrest and dissatisfaction with himself, the longing for sympathy and understanding, for contact with a power greater than himself that is "mighty to save"—these are things for which the older religious experiences offered an outlet. The necessity for coming to some sort of terms with these inner attitudes is just as urgent as it ever was; modern youth may try to drown the recognition of them by more and more activities, by gay parties, by noisy talk, or by an attitude of cynicism: all too often he grows into maturity with these inner needs still unrecognized, with the feeling that in some way or other life is cheating him, that he has missed some experience that was his due. In the noise and confusion of modern life, in its emphasis upon ever more and more activity, are we not in danger of robbing youth of some of its most vital experiences? In our scientific zeal and our emphasis upon the factual

side of life, are we not in danger of forgetting that the emotional life of adolescence is its most important feature and that it needs other outlets than baseball games, jazz, and the movies? The boy himself is apt to be impatient with religious forms and ceremonies, with set rules of conduct and theories of life. He knows instinctively that religion means something more than this. He seeks counsel and help from his companions, oftener than not from his girl friends, from teachers, "Y," and camp directors, or from books. The amount of philosophical and religious discussion engaged in by groups of boys who might be expected to have little interest in such things is unknown to many people, but the modern boy, were he given any encouragement by his social milieu, would still voice most fervently the old tribal prayer of his Omaha brother, "Here, ready, he stands, and I am he."

These are some of the things that occupy the attention and absorb the energy of the youth during the high school and college period. The choices and decisions which he must make, the faults he must overcome, the degree of popularity he must win with his fellows and with the girls, the depths of his own nature which he must try to understand—these are the things of great moment, the business that must come first. We, his parents and teachers, seem to him so often occupied with his future, we are continually appealing to the man that he

will some day be; but for him it is the present that is of importance. And he is not far wrong, for out of the way he handles his problems now, out of the adjustments he is able to make in adolescence, will come the experiences and the habits which will enable him to handle his problems in the future. It is for us, with our larger experience and our perspectives, to visualize his goal as that of a responsible and contributing member of society; but for him life is now a series of minor goals that must be reached with honor, of hurdles that must be leaped and of obstacles that must be overcome; and the thing that he requires most of all from his elders is that they shall not interfere unduly, but that he may feel their love and loyalty as his last line of defense, which moves up behind him in all of his battles, and gives him the courage and the faith without which no strength can prevail.

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Chapter VII

The Boy at College

Changes in curriculum and point of view—Increase in number of students—Attempts to meet the situation on the part of the colleges—Introduction of mental hygiene—College failures or maladjustments—Intellectual unfitness—Emotional immaturity—The "child genius"—Distinction between "precocious" and "superior" youth—Other difficulties of adaptation—Influence of the boy's home life—Problems found by the college psychiatrist—Training the youth in mental hygiene.

Until very recent years the college boy in all Western countries was a member of a highly selected group. Only a few boys in any community were fortunate enough to go to college. The subjects studied were the traditional ones their fathers had studied, and in many respects the atmosphere of the college town was not different from that of the boy's home. There was the same emphasis upon religion, and the professors very largely held the same points of view—at least, taught them—as the boys had been accustomed to all their lives. Now all this is changed. Boys in great numbers flock into the colleges,

the curriculum is being added to almost daily, the scientific point of view is paramount, and a freedom of thought and discussion prevails that either stimulates or bewilders the youth, according to his intellectual caliber and the régime under which he has been reared. It is inevitable that under these circumstances many boys will fail of adjustment to college life and will either be forced to drop out or will remain to be unhappy, poorly adjusted to the college community, and obtain little benefit from their work.

The college authorities themselves have for some time been aware of the fact that student-bodies have grown too large to be administered in the traditional fashion and that numbers of youths come to college who are too immature intellectually or emotionally to profit from what it has to give; hence, the movement for the junior college and the attempt to devise curricula so as to provide suitable mental pabulum for the various types of students, and to change the administration to suit their needs; but these things have by no means solved the problem, which very often is peculiar to the individual student and likely to be lost sight of in the needs of large numbers.

In a few colleges the mental hygienist or the psychiatrist has made his appearance, and to him the student who is failing in his work or having difficulties in adjusting himself to college life is sent. From the men and women

who have undertaken this work we learn how difficult college life is for a great many boys and girls. Looking on from the outside, noting the various manifestations of college spirit, attending inter-collegiate games, hearing accounts of college proms and dances and good times, we are caught by the glamour of university life and fail to realize how many youths find it anything but the realization of their dreams.

The difficulties which lead to failure or maladjustment in college fall into two groups, intellectual and emotional. In spite of entrance requirements many boys get into college who are not intellectually equal to the tasks it imposes upon them. There is an enormous gap between the small high school and the big state university, and the boy who led his class in the former, who goes to college expecting himself to be a "marked man," may find himself a nonentity or with so much competition that he becomes discouraged. The boy with less intelligence who has bluffed his way through high school or who has few intellectual interests but has come to college because of his parents' insistence or because the boys of his group are going, is almost always a failure, and sometimes with tragic results. But intellectual unfitness is easily discovered, and the cases of this sort are few in number compared to those in which the causes of maladjustment are emotional. Many boys, though intellectually advanced,

are too immature emotionally at seventeen or eighteen to make an adjustment in college. They are lonely and homesick, cannot put their attention upon their studies, and when they begin to fail may become panic-stricken, run away, or become actually ill. It is sometimes a good plan to permit a boy of this type to remain at home for a year after high school or to work for a year before trying college. We are so often obsessed with the feeling that he must lose no time, that until he has graduated a boy must be in school at all costs. But college, at least the large university, is no place for an immature lad.

Errol S—— graduated from a private school at sixteen and entered the state university. Errol had been a "mamma's boy" at home, and his private school had been a small and select one where the boys had a great deal of individual attention. For the first time in his life Errol found himself in a situation where there was no one to tell him what to do or to see that he did it. For two months he spent his time seeing the sights of the city, reading highly spiced literature, and driving with some other fellows who had brought their cars to school. He could not settle down to study and he took as many cuts as he dared. With mid-term examinations near, Errol waked up to the fact that he had not studied at all, had often been absent from class, and knew nothing whatever about his subjects. Failure meant being sent home with-

out the possibility of returning. He could not face his mother's disappointment and his father's insistence upon knowing the reasons for his failure, and he reacted like the child that he actually was—he ran away. In this case, however, the running away came near having serious consequences. He stowed away upon a transatlantic ship and was not discovered until the vessel had been several hours at sea. His experiences on the voyage were terrifying to him, and he was so hysterical by the time he arrived in Liverpool that it was necessary for a relative to go over to bring him back to his home. The case had wide publicity, and the consequences were unpleasant for all concerned. This is perhaps an extreme case, but there are many boys whose experiences in college are similar to Errol's.

But how about those "gifted lads," the "child geniuses," about whom we have heard so much in the last few years? Since the development of group tests it has become the custom in many school systems to segregate children into accelerated, average, and retarded groups, and to give the accelerated group special attention, allowing its members to progress as fast as they may through grade and high school. This has resulted in many children being ready for college at fifteen, sixteen, or even earlier. Sometimes these children are truly superior, physically and emotionally mature as well as intellectually

accelerated; when this is true, the boy will find his place as readily as if he were older. What far more frequently happens, however, is that the lad finds himself a social misfit, unable to compete with his older classmates in the things that matter most to a boy. He is too undeveloped physically to join them in athletics; he is too young to be interested in girls and dates, too young even to find intellectual companionship, for older boys of his own mental level consider him only a kid and frankly do not want him around. These lads, wherever they have been allowed to matriculate, have been a source of great concern to the college authorities, and many colleges frankly do not want them. Some parents solve the problem by sending the boy to a private school for a year or two after high school; but most parents cannot afford this, and the particular type of school which will fit the boy's intellectual needs is not always available. Nor is the junior college within reach in many parts of the country, and when it is, the boy often objects to going, as he is anxious to get away from home, or he has been looking forward to university life and objects to missing any of it.

This group of lads forms a problem which has not yet been solved. It is complicated, too, by the fact that many of these children are precocious instead of truly superior; their energy is too easily diverted into intellectual channels, their emotional life is still childish, and social

adjustments are difficult for them. At the very time when they should be finding themselves in companionship with boys and girls of their own age, they are thrown into a community whose interests are alien to them and whose experiences they cannot share. They turn more and more to their dreams and fantasies, shun even the contacts they are invited to make, become suspicious of their associates or despondent of themselves and their future. If we are to avoid tragedy in a boy of this sort, we must learn to make the distinction between intellectual precocity and actual intellectual superiority—between the high-strung, sensitive, over-bright child and the one whose intelligence may be less showy but mature and stable.

There are other boys who have considerable difficulty in adapting themselves to the freedom of thought, speech, and action that they find about them in college. In their anxiety to be good fellows, to appear sophisticated, or to stand in with some boy or group of boys whom they admire, they go to extremes, use poor judgment, clash with the authorities, or are the cause of unpleasant notoriety for the college or for their friends. John Held, Jr., has well described this type of college student, the over-blasé, ultra-sophisticated man-child of seventeen or eighteen whose greatest grief is that his mother still calls him "baby." In his zeal for manliness he picks up the worst

traditions of the college community and wears them with boastful bravado. His drinking bouts and his sex exploits add to his own illusion of manliness. He is cut off by his immaturity and his intellectual limitations from the more worth-while aspects of college life and he spends his time loafing, gambling, dating shallow-headed girls, to whom he poses as a youthful Don Juan, and "boning" for examinations when his work can no longer be put off. Mr. Held's picture is no doubt exaggerated, though it does describe a certain type of boy who occasionally gets into college and who, as everyone recognizes, is the college type as displayed too often in movies and in the popular magazines. Sometimes these boys have good stuff in them and with proper guidance can be made into good citizens of the college community.

There are other boys who are depressed by the freedom of thought and discussion which they find in college. They become confused and worried; they mistake freedom of speech for license to action and believe the worst of everything that they hear round about them. They are the first to call in question their religious and philosophical ideals and to undergo a painful period of reconstruction. Sometimes they are not equal to the reconstruction, and their confusion and depression eventuate in failure in their work. Such boys are usually found to have come from homes which bred in them a feeling of

insecurity. Either there were unhappiness and maladjustment between the parents, or the boy has been taught to rely upon authority and not trained to use his own judgment. When he finds himself thrown upon his own resources, his fundamental feeling of insecurity is aroused and he is unable to bring his intelligence to bear upon his problems.

College life even at its best, and especially as it is organized in the large universities, puts considerable of a strain upon the adaptive capacity of the students, and it is to be expected that inherent weaknesses in personality will develop. For many boys it is the first separation from the family and means the exercise of an initiative and a freedom of action to which they have been unaccustomed. Homesickness, worry, anxiety, feelings of inadequacy, and fears of their own inferiority are very common among college boys, especially, of course, during the first year or two. Even the most normal youth is liable to experience some of these emotions, and everyone recognizes that the freshman year is a time of orientation and that much of it must be given to the boy's effort to fit himself into the college community. But few of us realize how much actual suffering the college youth may undergo before he finds his place. His mind is occupied not only with the subjects of the curriculum and new methods of work and study which must be learned, his relationship

to the college at large and to his classmates, his house mates, or fraternity brothers in particular, not only with the new experiences and new points of view which he encounters, but also with most of the questions which have been discussed in the last chapter. If he is a normal, self-reliant youngster, brought up to stand upon his own feet and to face reality squarely as he finds it, he will be able to adapt himself to college life with a minimum of strain; but that there are a very great many boys who do not fall into this category is proven by the studies that have been made in the various colleges where psychiatric service has been instituted.

The problems that are brought to the psychiatrist are not new nor peculiar to college life. They are the same problems that he finds among adolescents in all walks of life. There are fewer of them than he finds in other settings, because college students are still a more or less highly selected group, and the obvious misfits or those patently disposed to break down as failures are not so frequently found, but there are still a few cases of actual psychosis, and many, many cases of the milder neuroses, those functional nervous conditions that unfit one in any situation for happy and successful living. Anxieties and sleeplessness, phobias and obsessions, fixed ideas and compulsions to behavior which the personality repudiates, mental conflict over sexual matters and over family af-

fairs, parade themselves before the psychiatrist in college as they do everywhere. The frequency with which such conditions occur among college students has been emphasized by the reports of the psychiatrists in various colleges where the mental hygiene program is being tried out. Among them are Yale, California, West Point, Washburn and Brown.[1] The success of the mental hygiene program wherever it has been tried in our institutions of higher education has proven its value. If the stress and strain of modern life are to continue, if the college is to become increasingly the melting pot for all sorts and conditions of boys and girls and especially if it is to become in reality a training school for the men and women of the next generation, fitting them to cope with the kaleidoscopic variety of experiences which modern life thrusts upon us, we must find some means of helping the youth to adjust himself to college life so as to get the most out of it and to put the most into it.

Not only for his own sake does the boy need a knowledge of mental hygiene, but for the sake of the family that he will some day found and for the children who will be born to him. We have seen how many of the ills from which humanity suffers are due to parents, who with the best intentions in the world still planted in their

[1] See references at end of chapter.

children the fears and phobias, the inadequacies and inferiorities and the wrong attitudes with which they face life. Perhaps we do not need to institute courses in training for parenthood. Once a subject has been made into a "course" and accorded a place in the curriculum, it inevitably loses much of its freshness and interest and is forever in danger of being formalized and made into a set of rules or dicta to be learned. Mental hygiene suffers also from the lack of qualified teachers to handle it; an adequate knowledge of mental hygiene can never be gleaned from books but must be learned from life itself, and the teacher must be competent to utilize life situations in his teaching. He must have a broad knowledge of human nature learned from intimate contact with all of its phases, both normal and abnormal, and above all he must have adjusted his own mental conflicts and come to terms with life. Needless to say, such teachers are as yet few and far between. Nevertheless, the college cannot afford to neglect its opportunity to acquaint the adolescent boy with some of the forces and motives that lie back of his own behavior.

Different colleges are working out different methods of attacking the problem. In some the personnel or the psychology department have been able to meet the student needs. In others some member of the faculty has been found who is able to meet the students for informal

talks or in discussion groups where the problems of greatest interest to them can be threshed out. Still others have been fortunate enough to obtain the services of a qualified psychiatrist who by lecture work, assigned readings and consultations, can help the youth to a better understanding of himself and his problems. Only a small beginning has been made, but the results are very encouraging. Young people are not only willing, they are eager to listen to anyone who is able to answer the questions which plague them, and the mental hygiene program in the colleges awaits only the development of a personnel to handle it to insure its being made an integral part of college life.

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Chapter VIII

The Young Man and a Changing World

Barriers between youth and those of maturer years—Social crises and the reaction of the young—Attitude of youth toward the present crisis—Criticisms of American youth—Defense of the present generation—Our faith in "education"—Where it has failed—Formal teaching only a part of education—The school of the future—The young man of today and what we can predict of him.

Between the young and those of maturer years there are always insurmountable barriers, and the plaint that the young are going to the dogs is probably as old as human society. Certainly we find it eloquently expressed in Greek and Roman literature, and students of primitive peoples tell us that the old men lament the difference in the youths of the present day from those of their own. On the other hand, wherever it dares youth is always critical of its elders, and of the rules and customs of the society into which it has been born. Always there are restrictions that seem to it unnecessary, distinctions that seem unjust, and requirements that strike it as sheer

stupidity. Education, as we have seen, has from the beginning been directed against this tendency, to secure, through force or otherwise, the adherence of the new generation to the beliefs and customs of the old. Sometimes for long periods it has succeeded and society remains static, resting in an organization once built up, as in China until very recently. But every age has had its rebels and its innovators, its progressives and its liberals, and the torch of human progress, hidden though its flame may be by the mists of superstition and ignorance, has never been completely quenched; and so the race moves forward, even though its progress be "snail-gaited."

There come times of social change and stress, in which the structure of a society seems crumbling, the old landmarks are swept away, and human beings are brought face to face with realities which have been concealed or pleasantly disguised, and toward which they have developed no effective reactions. Such times have come again and again in the history of the race, and always youth has seized the opportunity to shake off the restraints its culture would impose upon it and to find a way of life of its own. But it is always foredoomed to failure, for many reasons, chief among which are its ignorance of its own nature, of its capacities and limitations, and its inability to throw off, by wishing to do so, the "conditions and conditionings" that have been built into it by the

experiences of its earlier years. No matter how far he travels, man can never get away from his infancy, not only his own, but that of the race that lies behind him; it has shaped and stamped him, and in the truest possible sense has made him what he is at any given point in history.

But the boy who attains his majority today and looks forward into the future discovers himself in the midst of conditions unique in human experience. For the first time in history man finds himself facing a world crisis: not just one nation or one culture involving a group of nations is affected, but a world which, by reason of the machinery of communication that man has invented, has suddenly become conscious of itself as an entity. No longer can any nation dream of a "splendid isolation," or focus its attention upon a working out of its own destiny. Civilization is at the crossroads, and no man knows in what guise the future will see it emerge, or if it will indeed, by virtue of its own creations, destroy itself. Of only one thing can youth be sure, that it is itself no whit responsible for the setting of the stage upon which it is now called to play its part.

All over the world youth is reacting to this situation as youth has always reacted in social crises: with courage and vigor where it has responsible leadership, with cynicism and contempt and a determination to go its own way

and get what it can for itself where such leadership is lacking. What can we expect of the American boy, bred in the strenuous patriotism of the war, and nurtured in the mad confusion of money-getting, jazz, and whoopee of the post-war years? Can we look to him to develop sobriety of thought and an intelligent view of the problems thrust upon him with his maturity, or has his training unfitted him for leadership and left him at the mercy of his own selfish desires?

We have heard a great deal about "flaming youth" in the past decade; popular thought, led by the movies and by realistic fiction, has pictured our boys and girls as having thrown off all restraints, dashing madly from one experience to another, drinking, indulging their sexual desires, stripped of all illusion and sentiment, hardened and worldly long before they are out of their teens. Undoubtedly there are groups in nearly every community who approximate this picture, but when one investigates closely their members are far fewer than the popular hue and cry would have us believe. Often the individual boy turns out to be a rather unintelligent fellow, bent as youth has a right to be upon having a good time, proud of his sophistication and disillusionment, but not altogether sure of what it is all about. But it is probably true that the average boy—and girl too, for that matter—has much less of illusion and sentiment concerning life than had the

youth of a generation or more ago. And it is probably true also that for that very reason he is seeing more clearly and thinking straighter than his father did at his age. The present generation of young folk has had more freedom of thought and action than any in recent times, certainly, and if it is cynical with disillusionment it is also surer of itself. The young man of today, where he has had half a chance to develop his own individuality, probably has a better grip upon himself and a better understanding of the art of human relationships than any youth in our history. His freedom, much as we may regret its effects upon the unstable, has taught him early many things that his forbears learned later and with much greater pain. The pity of it is that in so many instances his elders cannot perceive him as he is; they turn back wistfully to their own youth, seeing it through the glamour in which time and distance shroud it, wishing for the boy the same outlook on life and the same grasp of what they thought were eternal verities. They are amazed or shocked at his fearless handling of things they are a little afraid of yet; they are resentful of his knowledge in fields of which they are ignorant; they are distrustful, as age and experience are always distrustful, of his ability to understand and pay proper respect to our social institutions. And, worst of all, they persist in generalizing, in fixing their attention upon the antics of

a few, and judging all youth from the group that makes the most noise. Anyone who has an acquaintance with a wide variety of young men, who is accustomed to converse with them upon important issues of the day, or who will take the trouble to read the serious student publications of our larger colleges, can only conclude that our boys are at least as well prepared to cope with the problems that their maturity is bringing them as their critics would have been at their age.

We in America have pinned our faith to education, we have spent more money on schools and teachers than any nation has ever done, and have decreed that all children shall go to school; we have built the machinery of education to a high pitch of perfection, but we have by no means always been clear as to what it was all about. In some way or other we have expected the schools to solve our problems for us, but we have not so constituted them that they could throw much light upon the fundamental human problem, which is not after all concerned with the conquest of matter but with the relation of human beings to each other. No institution can rise above the level of the community which supports it, and it was inevitable that our schools should reflect the mechanization and the standardization of our modern life. Educators themselves have been aware of these things, and long before the war voices were raised in protest and experiments in

social education were being tried out. But the social point of view made little headway against the pressure for practical work and technical education. And so our boys have been trained in the technique of business and industry, or the no less intricate technique of a profession; and taught to worship at the shrine of science, which can give us such wonders as the radio and airplane, and synthetic foods, and electrical milking machines; but psychology and sociology and the humanistic subjects in general have touched them but lightly, while the history of civilization presents so many unpleasant facts about human nature that it has been almost everywhere tabooed.

But, after all, the formal teaching of the schools is only a part of a boy's education; he can—and does—take what he wants of it and leave the rest, so far as its assimilation is concerned. The forces that shape and mold him, that form his attitudes and give him his ideals and standards, lie almost wholly outside the school as organized for formal teaching. The seeds of personality are sown before the child goes to school, and all through his formative years he is absorbing from the forces with which his culture surrounds him; he becomes what he is at maturity often in spite of careful teaching and conscious effort to make him otherwise. Nevertheless, the school may be and often is of inestimable value in the development of

the boy's personality; the teacher whom he admires and strives to imitate, the associations he forms with his school and college mates, that intangible thing known as school spirit, are all potent forces in his development. But in addition to the human contacts and the inspiration it affords him, in addition to the information it imparts and the formal training it gives, we must require of the school of the future that it teach the child to think, to tolerate another's point of view, and to understand the reasons for some of his own actions. This much at least it must do for him, if it is to justify the amount of time it demands from him, and the energy and money spent upon it.

But meanwhile our boys, product of the times in which they live, are reaching manhood, facing a world which may well seem to them a sorry mess, and a future which no man can foresee. In the light of our present knowledge we can review the mistakes of their upbringing, can wish that we had been less arrogant, less short-sighted, less occupied with material things and more interested in the intangible values of life. We have not given them the full measure of our confidence and understanding, or even what we might have given them in preparation for the hardships they must now undertake. Nevertheless, in the majority of instances we can predict that they will do their best to carry on. Many of them, perhaps most,

will go forward determined to salvage for themselves as much as possible from a world threatened with bankruptcy; but here and there will be those who see a larger vision and desire for their children and their children's children a better world, a world where truth can be spoken without subterfuge, and reality faced without fear. These are they who will carry on the torch of progress, progress toward a better understanding of our neighbors and of ourselves, that finally men may be able to dwell upon the earth in peace and harmony with each other. And to these young men we say, with all the fervor that is in us—God speed!